Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-162
Wednesday
21 August 1991

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-162 *21 August 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Alia Views Soviet, Yugoslav Situations *[Hamburg DPA]* 1
Alia Discusses Consequences *[ATA]* 1
Bufi on Handling 'Grave' Domestic Situation *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Party Leaders on Opposition 'Coordination,' Soviet Events *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Kosovo's Ramajli Welcomes 'Powerful Support' *[ATA]* 2
Kosovo Delegation Meets Party Leaders *[ATA]* 3

BULGARIA

BSDP, Radical Democrats Open Congresses *[BTA]* 4
Talks Between Government, Trade Unions Reported *[BTA]* 4
BTA Surveys 20 Aug Political Events 5
Popov Addresses Parties, Unions on Miners Strike *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Miners Extend Strike *[BTA]* 6
Government Actions Reported *[BTA]* 6
Strike Committee Responds *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Zhivkov, Balev React to USSR Situation *[BTA]* 7
BSP Hesitates in Adopting Position *[BTA]* 7
SDS Criticizes BSP Position *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Army Daily Interviews Popov on Army Day *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 12 Aug]* 8
BSDP Leader Interviewed *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 14 Aug]* 9
Donchev Denies Close Links to Soviet Army *[BTA]* 10
Prosecutor To Question Zhivkov on Economic Case *[BTA]* 10

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Discusses USSR, Borders, Soviet Troops *[CTK]* 11
Havel, Calfa Meet Press on USSR Events *[Prague Radio]* 11
Defense Council Meets on Border Security *[Prague Radio]* 13
Havel Discusses USSR With World Leaders 13
Bush Assures Support *[CTK]* 13
Havel Phones Leaders *[CTK]* 13
Havel Confers With Major *[CTK]* 13
Slovak Presidium Regrets USSR Events *[Bratislava Radio]* 14
Communist Party Critical of Gorbachev Ouster *[CTK]* 14
'Methodology' of Slovak Privatization Outlined *[NARODNA OBRODA 15 Aug]* 14
Statistical Office Reports Inflation Through July *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 15 Jul]* 15
Klaus Comments on Bankruptcy Law in Czech Daily *[CTK]* 15
MNI, VPN Present Positions on Referendum *[CTK]* 15
DS: Meciar's Coalition Offer 'Meaningless' *[CTK]* 16

HUNGARY

USSR Events May Affect Troop Withdrawal Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 17
Foreign State Secretary on USSR Situation *[Budapest TV]* 17
Keleti: Soviet Situation Not a Threat *[Budapest TV]* 18
Socialist Party Condemns Gorbachev Ouster *[Budapest Radio]* 19

POLAND

Walesa Discusses Soviet Situation With World Leaders 20
Bush Calls Walesa *[PAP]* 20
Mitterrand, Delors Calls *[PAP]* 20
Walesa Sees No Need for Security Council Meeting *[PAP]* 20
Soviet Citizens Asking for Asylum *[Warsaw TV]* 20
Soviet Situation Affects Fuel Supplies *[PAP]* 21
Political Party Heads React to Soviet Events *[PAP]* 21
Poles Working in USSR Reported Safe *[Warsaw TV]* 21
No Comment on Army Moves Over Soviet Events *[Warsaw TV]* 22
Soviet Army Communications Company Leaves for Home *[Warsaw TV]* 22
Bielecki Cancels Visit to Denmark *[Warsaw TV]* 22
Secret Surveillance Policy Discussed *[GAZETA ROBOTNICZA 9 Aug]* 22

ROMANIA

Government 'Communique' on Events in Soviet Union *[ROMPRES]* 25
Iliescu Issues Statement; Calls For Unity *[Bucharest Radio]* 25
FSN, PAC Leaders Comment on Soviet Events *[ROMPRES]* 26
PNL-Young Wing Communique on Gorbachev Removal *[ROMPRES]* 26
Roman Concerned Over Communist Danger *[ROMPRES]* 26
Government Discusses Domestic Issues, USSR *[ROMPRES]* 27
President Iliescu Discusses Privatization Law *[ROMPRES]* 27
Coposu Outlines National Peasant Party Views *[ROMANIA LIBERA 14 Aug]* 27

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Assembly Work Blocked by Slovenia, Croatia *[TANJUG]* 31
Ministry: $20 Billion Lost in Conflicts *[TANJUG]* 31
Repaying Foreign Debt 'Big Challenge' *[TANJUG]* 31
Presidency Asserts Cease-Fire Talks Precondition *[TANJUG]* 31
Cease-Fire Commission Visits Vinkovci *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
Kostic Says USSR Events Warning to Croatia *[TANJUG]* 32
Serbia, Montenegro Reportedly Demand New Borders *[Ljubljana Radio]* 33
Government Assails Croatian Weapons Seizures *[TANJUG]* 33

International

Kostic: Soviets Cannot Stop Democratization *[TANJUG]* 33
Croatia, Slovenia Comment on USSR Events *[TANJUG]* 34
Slovenian Reform Party on USSR Events *[TANJUG]* 34
Mesic Views Consequences *[Budapest Radio]* 34
National Press Comments *[TANJUG]* 34
Agreements With USSR 'Remain Valid' *[TANJUG]* 35
De Michelis, Markovic Hold 19 Aug Meeting *[Rome ANSA]* 35

Slovenia

Army's Failure To Return Equipment Assailed *[TANJUG]* 35
Ljubljana Corps Command Rejects Radio Report *[TANJUG]* 36
BORBA, DANAS View Problems *[TANJUG]* 36

Croatia

Tudjman: Crisis Solution 'Somewhat Closer' *[TANJUG]* 37
Tudjman on Separation *[TANJUG]* 37
Roundup of Overnight Attacks in Croatia *[Zagreb Radio]* 37
Cease-Fire Violations Claim 5 Lives *[TANJUG]* 38

Government Protests YPA Attack on Osijek *[TANJUG]* 38
Army Accused of Cooperating With 'Terrorists' *[TANJUG]* 38
Krajina Officials Meet, Babic on Martic Statement *[TANJUG]* 39
Staples Withheld From YPA in Osijek *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
Aircraft Strafe Village Near Osijek *[Zagreb Radio]* 40
Defense Ministry Says Mobilization Not Ordered *[Zagreb Radio]* 40
Fighting Continues in Slavonia, Baranja *[Belgrade Radio]* 40

Serbia

Zelenovic Discusses Aspects of Federal Crisis *[TANJUG]* 41

Macedonia

Assembly Commission Adopts Draft Constitution *[Skopje Radio]* 41
Macedonian, Croatian Groups Discuss Future *[Skopje Radio]* 41
Defense Minister Comments on Conscripts Issue *[Belgrade TV]* 41

Alia Views Soviet, Yugoslav Situations

LD2008190791 Hamburg DPA in German 1818 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Munich (DPA)—Albania's State President Ramiz Alia has described the coup d'etat in the USSR as a danger for further democratization in the former socialist country on the west coast of the Balkan peninsula. In a talk with the "SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" (tomorrow's edition), the reform communist said that it could lead to new international tensions, above all in the Balkans, which also endangered the democratic reforms in Albania "from outside". He fears that the Yugoslav army will intervene in the province of Kosovo, which is inhabited mainly by Albanians. Albania will not intervene militarily in Kosovo, but will "defend its frontiers," Alia said.

It would be very dangerous if it came to an exodus from Kosovo to Albania. This could lead to a pursuit by the Serbian Army, "that means, that they could come to Albania and then be confronted by our military frontier forces." He does not see a danger in Albania "from insider," from political forces, Alia said. The multiparty government "is functioning well and is working". The secret service, Sigurimi, no longer has any power and only serves to defend the state and the constitution. The economic situation is responsible for the mass exodus of Albanians to Italy. The country now needs mass investment instead of humanitarian aid.

Alia Discusses Consequences

AU2008131891 Tirana ATA in English 0804 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 20 (ATA)—The overthrow of Gorbachev will certainly be of negative consequences for the Soviet Union as well as for the international relations, the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia stated among other things in a TV interview. This will encourage various dictatorial forces, of any hue.

Gorbachev's overthrow should be considered also from the point of view of the security of our homeland. Here I refer to the events in Yugoslavia. This threat is an encouragement for the Big Serb forces, for the reactionary forces in Yugoslavia, which might gain courage in their actions against Kosovo and Albania.

It is a duty of all our people, of the Kosovars, as well to be rather vigilant.

We in our country should be careful because here too there are anarchist forces, which aim at committing destabilizing acts within the country in the social and political meaning. They may take courage; therefore in these situations vigilance is needed.

Bufi on Handling 'Grave' Domestic Situation

AU2008192991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Statement by Prime Minister Ylli Bufi; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Although various observers and politicians warned of Gorbachev's difficulties and the possibility of his fall, the news of his overthrow on August 19 was a surprise and has given rise to concern among all official circles and among the international public. The reasons for this concern are twofold.

First, it stems from the antidemocratic methods used to change the topmost leadership of a state, and especially that of a state such as the Soviet Union. The use of force, tanks, and the Army and the imposition of a state of emergency to attain this objective prove that forces with specific interests were involved in this change. Reports so far indicate conservative forces hostile to Gorbachev's domestic and foreign policies.

Second, this concern relates to the repercussions this event will have on the development of international politics, which have been closely tied in recent years with Gorbachev's policy stands on ending confrontation and the cold war between military and political blocs. Now, when international relations have entered a stage of understanding and when a spirit of confidence is increasingly prevailing in the world, this military step has sown doubt and suspicion about the Soviet Union's future foreign policy.

With this preoccupation, the government met on 20 August to discuss these recent developments in the Soviet Union and demanded the adoption of some political and military measures, taking internal and external factors into consideration.

The situation at home is grave and extremely complex. It has been further exacerbated by the recent exodus and its consequences. Under these conditions, the need for law enforcement is more vital than ever. Now more than ever there is a need for the forces of order and the organs of justice to carry out their duties. Otherwise, if confusion and anarchy prevail, extremist and conservative forces will raise their heads, thus seriously jeopardizing the democracy we have won. Our only choice—and I stress that it is our only choice—is to preserve the social peace achieved by political agreement and to implement the program for the country's stabilization. This further increases the responsibility of the political parties and the government for a full commitment to adopting all the necessary measures to guarantee that our country's democratization is irreversible.

Party Leaders on Opposition 'Coordination,' Soviet Events

AU2008202691

[Editorial Report] Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 20 August carries a 10-minute

correspondent's report on a meeting among leaders of various political parties on 20 August to discuss the current situation in Albania, including live or recorded interviews with party leaders. Reception is poor to indistinct.

Republican Party Chairman Sabri Godo states: "Our internal situation is now at the limits of endurance." "There are forces interested in total destabilization. A flagrant example of this is the recent exodus. It seems that the state organs are not able to identify the culprits for this exodus. I therefore think that the political parties must come to the fore, to ensure social peace."

In a largely indistinct interview, Social Democratic Party Chairman Skender Gjinushi states that the current situation in Albania "demands the coordination of the work of all the opposition parties," which will lead to "a truly pluralist parliament." He hopes that "the next elections will lead to real results, reflecting the real opinions of all strata of the population.

Democratic Party Chairman Sali Berisha also advocates "the coordination of the activities of the opposition over a range of difficulties that the development of democracy in Albania is experiencing today. In particular, we have observed that there is a superficial development of democratic processes. The people are weary and distressed, for example,... because they see an alliance of died-in-the-wool communists... with ultranationalists... blocking reform and democratic processes in Albania. In this sense, the forces of the opposition have decided to coordinate their efforts and to take a clear and firm stand against such behavior, because people are waiting, and rightly waiting, for the opposition to show itself to be more active."

The correspondent asks party leaders about their response to recent events in the Soviet Union.

Sabri Godo states that "It is a matter of a fascist-style Stalinist military coup, attempting to turn back the clock of history," and hopes that "the Soviet and Russian peoples will succeed in overcoming the present situation."

Skender Gjinushi states: "We have witnessed a military coup without legal basis."

Sali Berisha states: "The coup d'etat in the Soviet Union, in my view, is a putschist coup concocted by an alliance of secret conservative communists, political speculators, and Stalinists in the Bolshevik wing of the Red Army, to halt democratic processes in the Soviet Union." "It represents a blow to the reawakened democratic aspirations of the whole of mankind. This coup shows clearly that an alliance of secret or cryptocommunists with elements in the political police and other conservative army elements poses a real danger to democracy in the countries of East Europe. This event shows again that the opposition in these countries must unite and actively struggle against the imposition of dictatorship." "It also shows that the free Western world must support democrats and the forces of democracy in these countries."

Socialist Party Chairman Fatos Nano, asked about recent events in the Soviet Union, states: "The sudden but not totally unexpected removal of Gorbachev from the Soviet political stage is an event that must be assessed with the utmost concern and seriousness, if it is not to turn into a negative factor interrupting the democratic processes, not only in that great country, the Soviet Union, which we know has great influence in international relations, but also in our region, where the situation is very ominous. Of course, this is not the time to settle problems of international relations and the process of reform in this very difficult transitional phase for all the countries of the East in ways far from all logic, and without a commitment to wisdom, tolerance, and dialogue. It is not a time for retrospection, regression, the use of violence, or anything that recalls the memory of the now-fallen dictators." Nano also connects the name of Gorbachev with the end of the cold war and confrontation. "We trust that the Soviet people, with their ancient culture and cultivated democratic traditions and aspirations, will have the necessary political wisdom to ensure the continuity of the processes of reform and democracy, not only in their own country, but in everything that involves this great country in the democratization of international relations."

Kosovo's Ramajli Welcomes 'Powerful Support'

AU2008134091 Tirana ATA in English 0812 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 20 (ATA)—The delegation of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, headed by the deputy chairman of this Assembly, Iljaz Ramajli, left our country on August 19. Present to see it off at Rinas Airport were the deputy chairmen of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Lush Perpali and Aleksander Meksi, deputies, and functionaries of the People's Assembly.

At the end of the visit, the leader of the delegation, Iljaz Ramajli made the following statements to the press:

I think this visit will mark the beginning of close cooperation among the assemblies, governments and state organs of the Republic of Kosovo and Albania.

Worthy of mention are the statements by the Albanian authorities for the support of any solution, the Albanians in Kosovo and Yugoslavia consider as best for them. This is a powerful support and makes us more persistent in realizing our goals.

Likewise we agreed that the administration of the Albanian state, concretely the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will be engaged more than ever in the institutionalization of the problem of Kosovo and of the Albanians in Yugoslavia and the official meetings of the Albanian government members will be exploited for the actual treatment of this issue.

Kosovo Delegation Meets Party Leaders

AU2008133991 Tirana ATA in English 0807 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 20 (ATA)—Over its stay in our country, the delegation of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo led by the vice chairman of this assembly, Iljaz Ramajli, paid a visit to the University of Tirana, where it was received by the rector, Prof. Dr. Nikolla Konomi. They in the meeting voiced the desire for restoration of ties, cooperation and direct contacts between the University of Tirana and that of Kosovo, exchange of students, professors, publications, literature, delivering of lectures, etc.

After thanking for the fraternal reception, Muhamet Bicaj said that through imposing a violent management in the University of Kosovo, the Serb police state openly confirmed its anti-Albanian discriminating policy and genocide. The objective of this policy is the Serbization of Kosovo and destruction of everything Albanian. The University of Kosovo should function and exchanges with the University of Tirana should be normal.

On August 19, the delegation of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo was received in separate meetings by leaders of the political parties: the chairman of the Socialist Party, Fatos Nano; the chairman of the Leading Committee of the Democratic Party, Sali Berisha; the chairman of the Ecological Party, Namik Hoti; the chairman of the Party of National Unity, Idajet Beqiri; the chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Skender Gjinushi; and the vice- chairman of the Republican Party, Vangjush Gambeta. They in these meetings underscored the unique support of the political forces and the opinion in Albania in defence of the legitimate rights of the Albanian people in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia.

BSDP, Radical Democrats Open Congresses

AU1708195091 Sofia BTA in English
1907 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 17 (BTA)—The 39th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Social Democratic party (BSDP) started today. According to the Credentials Committee, the congress is legitimate. Two days ago the national leadership of the party claimed that the congress was counter-statute. The political report says that the party's political line is futile and there are differences in opinion between the leadership and the numerous members of the BSDP, mainly on its actions within the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]. The participants in the congress charge the present leadership with applying Bolshevist methods and with searching support outside the SDS, thus bringing discredit on the social democratic ideals. The congress intends to make amendments to the statute and to elect a new leadership. The present one is not attending the congress. A meeting of BSDP sections which disapprove of the extraordinary congress was held in Sofia. The participants in the meeting discussed the election platform of the BSDP.

The miners' strike is going on for four days now. The National Strike Committee declared yesterday that the results of the negotiations with the government's experts were unsatisfactory. Mr. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the SDS, had talks with representatives of the strike committee. He expressed his concern about the situation and pointed out that the question is not only about the future of the miners, but the future of the country in general.

Today the Federation of Medical Workers with the Podkrepa Labour Confederation confirmed their strike alert. If the government fails to take urgent measures for the improvement of the grave state of health care and medicines supply the medical workers will go on strike Monday.

In connection with the rising wave of strikes the parliamentary factions of the SDS issued a declaration saying that a dangerous process has started which might bring to the downfall of the government. The problems which have accumulated in the 45 years of communist reign are now used by the Red economic nomenklatura, says the declaration. They are used for speculations by the supreme circles of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], the government and the leadership of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation included; they want to stop the reform, to gain their mercenary political ends and destroy social peace on the eve of the elections; the reform is necessary for Bulgaria and it must go on, says the declaration. It calls on the workers to make difference between the desired and the real economic possibilities and appeals to the state institutions to secure the course of the reform, the rule of law and public order.

The National Board of the Constitutional Forum Movement discussed its election strategy. It decided to make all efforts for the creation of a united democratic opposition and a united parliamentary bloc in the future National Assembly.

The uniting of the democratic opposition is the major goal set by the Radical Democratic Party, it became clear on the first day of its congress.

Today supreme U.S. military commanders, led by Vice Admiral William Owens, visited the Naval School in Varna and had talks with the city administration.

Talks Between Government, Trade Unions Reported

AU2008195991 Sofia BTA in English
1823 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—"The government was supported by all the political forces but the manner in which they pledged their support was different," Mr. Lyubomir Ivanov of the Green Party told the BTA. Mr. Ivanov took part in the talks that were held in the morning between the government, representatives of the political forces and of the two trade union amalgamations, the Podkrepa Labour Confederation and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions.

The talks between the government and representatives of Podkrepa scheduled for the early afternoon were cancelled, thwarting the hopes of the politicians that the strike would be called off.

"We support the government and oppose massive strikes that hamper the economic development of the country. They are unacceptable at the present moment," Mr. Petur Kornazhev of the parliamentary faction of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS)—Moderate opposition told the BTA. According to Mr. Kornazhev, the SDS legislative opposition faction of the SDS-Radicals disapproved of the tone of yesterday's declaration in which the government said that it would not yield to pressure. Mr. Kornazhev's personal opinion is that Podkrepa is more involved in the strike than it showed during the talks.

"We expressed our support for the government," Mr. Yordan Vasilev of the SDS-Radicals opposition legislative group said. However, we believe that the government is unable to perform its functions that is the reason why we have been demanding new elections since April. The agreement that scheduled the elections for May was violated and that is the reason for the current social unrest. The radical opposition believes that the social tension is not provoked by the government nor by Podkrepa but by certain strata of society affected by the crisis.

All participants in today's talks declared that new elections should be held soon.

BTA Surveys 20 Aug Political Events

AU2108073291 Sofia BTA in English 2004 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—Today there were stormy debates in parliament on the issue concerning the right of the Bulgarians living abroad to vote outside Bulgaria. The question of which political forces will benefit from granting such right was raised. The dispute centred on the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) of the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria and on the number of votes that it is likely to win from the Bulgarians in Turkey. Some said that at present there are 200,000 Bulgarians in Turkey while others argued that their number is not more than 60,000 to 70,000.

The Parliamentary Commissions on Foreign Policy and National Security discussed a letter by the Turkish prime minister to his Bulgarian counterpart demanding that the DPS be registered and allowed to run in the forthcoming elections.

At a press conference today the leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party firmly opposed a possible DPS registration.

Political forces and organizations in Bulgaria are issuing declarations in protest to the developments in the Soviet Union. The Republican Party condemned the takeover and the establishment of a neo-Stalinist dictatorship.

The spokesman for the Bulgarian Ministry of Defence said that the Bulgarian military are not organizing a coup and that the military units are garrisoned in their usual places.

The Military Union, a non-partisan organization of servicemen on regular duty, expressed its concern about Bulgaria's future after the coup in the Soviet Union. The organization fears that the miners' strike and its possible spread to other industries may suggest to the Bulgarian generals the idea that the country's national security is endangered.

The Alternative Socialist Organization (ASO) says there is a real danger of a civil war in the USSR. Its declaration points out that the events there indirectly discredit Socialists in Bulgaria. The attempts to suggest that the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] is unable to take part in the peaceful transition to democracy are alarming, says the document.

The Fatherland Union also expressed concern about the unseating of Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Union of Bulgarian Journalists appealed to the International Organization of Journalists and the International Federation of Journalists to consider the censorship, imposed on the Soviet mass media.

The radical wing of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) discussed the wait-and-see attitude of the BSP towards the events in the Soviet Union. The SDS leadership believes that the BSP is unwilling to distance itself from the reactionary neo- Stalinist forces. The spokesman for the SDS pointed out that the USSR is no further capable of performing its imperial functions and the Bulgarian champions of the perestroyka should realize there cannot be any perestroyka at all.

The strikes of miners and medical workers are going on. A trade union activist assured that post-office clerks will not go on strike and that an agreement has been signed with the employers.

Prime Minister Dimitur Popov received a letter from the Central Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Miners' Trade Union Federation. It expresses concern about "the inadequate behavior of the government" about the national miners' strike. The government's attempts to negotiate authoritatively and to threaten the strike committee are a brutal provocation against the Bulgarian people, says the letter.

A new organization is running for membership in the Tripartite Commission of the government, the employers and the trade unions: the Creativity Trade Union Confederation, which unites cultural figures. At a press conference representatives of this trade union called the minister of culture, Mr. Dimo Dimov, "a grave-digger of Bulgaria's culture."

In two weeks 13 Bulgarian officers are to leave for Western Sahara to take part in a UN mission for a referendum in the former colony.

Popov Addresses Parties, Unions on Miners Strike

AU2108072291 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] We have received information from the Council of Ministers Press Center on the meeting held this morning between the government, the political forces represented in the legislature, and the leaders of the two largest trade union confederations.

Mr. Dimitur Popov told the participants in the meeting about the fulfillment of the obligations set out in the January 1991 agreement between the political forces. The only thing not carried out until now is the commitment to organize and hold elections in the country, the reason for this being the lack of the laws required for this purpose.

Dimitur Popov said that the government is ready to prepare for the holding of the elections within the normal deadlines according to the law. The prime minister acquainted the participants with the meetings and numerous rounds of talks held with the trade unions on resolving the problems that had recently given rise to social tension in the country. He presented evidence that the strike actions have been instigated and guided by the executive councils of the industrial branch trade union federations under the Podkrepa Labor Confederation.

He reiterated the government's view, which was expressed in its declaration of yesterday, that some of the demands are well-founded, and in this respect the strike actions are trade union in nature. However, he added that are several grounds for considering that the actions also have political aims.

To ensure the normal progress of the reform and to conduct the elections in conditions of social and civil peace, Popov asked the representatives of the political forces to support the government until the end of its term of office and to define their stance regarding the wave of strikes.

Dr. Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, put the point of view of his trade union confederation on the issues raised.

Prof. Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB], stated that the members of his confederation are against the strike, because for the first time Bulgaria has a chance to carry out a decentralized wages negotiations, and because now, before the elections, the strikes might be utilized for political purposes.

Support for the government was expressed by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the BSP; by Petur Kornazhev, on behalf of the legislative Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]; by Yordan Vasilev, representing the SDS-Radicals legislative group; and by the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United, the Radical Democratic Party, Ecoglasnost, the Democratic Party, Green Party, and the Rights and Freedoms Movement.

Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council, called upon the government and the trade unions to continue the dialogue and take concrete steps to restore and maintain social peace until the elections.

At the end of the meeting, Mr. Dimitur Popov made an appeal on behalf of the government to the Podkrepa Labor Confederation to stop the strike actions now being carried out. Dr. Konstantin Trenchev stated that he had no powers to assume such a commitment, but will use all his influence to resolve the conflict.

The participants in the meeting expressed the common view that government should enjoy full political and legislative support, that the reform should continue to follow a normal course, and that the preparations for the elections should continue, for which stable social and civil peace must be ensured. All those present declared that in the present conditions the strike is not the most suitable trade union action for achieving an agreement and solving the severe social problems, and asked for the strike to be called off.

Miners Extend Strike

AU2008135791 Sofia BTA in English 1217 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—Today the striking miners descended into the mines. This is the second stage of their strike. "There will be a third stage as well and it will be dangerous," Mr. Dimitur Dimov, chairman of the Podkrepa Miners' Federation, says in "TRUD" today. Yesterday, the number of striking miners reached 27,000.

Under the headline "Podkrepa Calls in Tanks to Our Street as Well" "TRUD," the daily of the independent trade unions in Bulgaria (KNSB) runs reports on the strike. "God save Bulgaria," Ms. Diana Damyanova, one of the KNSB leaders, says in the same newspaper. Ms. Damyanova recalls that Gennadiy Yanayev was former trade union leader and adds that "a trade union leader is in the centre of events in Bulgaria." Ms. Damyanova refers to Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation.

Yesterday there were consultations between the government, representatives of the striking miners and the two trade unions confederations: Podkrepa and the KNSB. The strikers did not give in. "People must understand that at the present moment the strike is not in their interests," Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy prime minister, said after the meeting. Last night the government issued a declaration saying that it would not yield to pressure. The government believes that the strike is a cover for political goals and ambitions: to put pressure on the government, to destabilize the political situation and to put off the forthcoming elections. The government adopted a decision to dismiss those economic managers who, instead of trying to negotiate with the strikers, join the strike themselves.

According to a public opinion poll published in today's "168 CHASA," 39 percent of Sofianites believe that the government of Prime Minister Dimitur Popov may prove a hard nut to crack if Podkrepa tries to bring it down.

This morning the government met with representatives of the parliamentary forces to discuss the social and political situation in the country and to find ways for preserving social peace and for the further implementation of the reform.

A meeting of the Tripartite Commission comprising the government, trade unions and employers is scheduled for the early afternoon.

Government Actions Reported

AU2008210891 Sofia BTA in English 2043 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers has taken measures in connection with the strike in mining and ore extraction. They are intended to stop the

strikes and secure social peace and the normal course of the reform, the Government Press Centre reported.

The Council of Ministers ordered that no wages should be paid to the participants in the strike. Legal measures are to be taken to establish the legality of the strikes and proceedings will be initiated for all offences. The government has taken a series of financial measures against the enterprises on strike. No budget resources will be allocated the companies on strike. Personal measures are being taken against responsible business executives. The Chairman of the Committee on Power Engineering, Prof. Lyudmil Genov, was dismissed.

If these measures fail to achieve the expected results, the Council of Ministers will take new measures Thursday [22 August].

Strike Committee Responds

AU2108071291 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] We have received through BTA a letter from the Central Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Miners Trade Union Federation addressed to Prime Minister Dimitur Popov.

The letter expresses disquiet over the Bulgarian Government's inadequate conduct regarding the national miners strike.

The strike committee insists that the Bulgarian public should be informed of the truth.

In addition to not wanting to hold talks with Podkrepa 20 days ago, the government failed to show up at the talks arranged to be held between the government and the Podkrepa Miners Trade Union Federation at 2000 hours on 19 August and at 0900 on 20 August, on each of which occasions a protocol was to be signed, states the letter received through the BTA.

At the same time, the government is conducting negotiations with Krustyu Petkov [chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria] and his experts, who are not a party to the labor dispute.

We issue a warning that all this constitutes a gross violation of the Law on Settling Collective Labor Disputes in the Republic of Bulgaria. The attempt by the government to hold negotiations in a domineering way and to threaten the strike committee with force is assessed as a crude provocation, and the position adopted by the Council of Ministers proves yet again that it is not ready to negotiate nor to bear responsibility for the commitments assumed in relation to the trade unions in the Agreement on Social Peace.

According to the strike committee, the government's wish to pass the task of settling the labor dispute to the National Commission for Coordinating Interests, in which the employers and Podkrepa Labor Confederation are not taking part, is a gross violation by the government of the status of the National Commission for Coordinating Interests.

Zhivkov, Balev React to USSR Situation

AU2008122691 Sofia BTA in English 0940 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—Bulgaria's former No. 1 Todor Zhivkov was not surprised by the overthrow of Gorbachev but he had expected it to happen earlier, "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" writes today after an interview with Zhivkov's granddaughter Evgeniya. Zhivkov himself declined to make any statements for the Bulgarian dailies on the military coup in the Soviet Union, though many reporters tried to reach him.

"I am surprised but not greatly because I had always thought it was going to happen," Milko Balev, former member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] says in the extraordinary issue of "DEMOKRATSIYA 91." Mr. Balev has been asking himself questions about the actual situation in Moscow, about how far things would go, about what is happening with Gorbachev and Yakovlev whom he says he deeply respects and with whom he was on friendly terms.

According to Mr. Balev some people in Bulgaria probably cherish hopes for availing themselves of the circumstances. "But we should not give in to emotions," he said, stressing that everything possible should be done in order to preserve peace and the people. "Such brinkmanship is inadmissible. Under no circumstances." Mr. Milko Balev, former member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP says in conclusion.

A reporter of "DEMOKRATSIYA 91" managed to reach the former minister of defence Dobri Dzhurov but he declined to comment. He agreed that there were grounds for concern but looked calm and recommended "not to panic."

BSP Hesitates in Adopting Position

AU2008163091 Sofia BTA in English 1453 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—Representatives of the BSP's leadership describe the events in the Soviet Union as unconstitutional and undemocratic. The party, however, still refrains from taking an official stand on the events. Tomorrow the Supreme Council of the BSP will probably issue a declaration in connection with Gorbachev's removal from power.

At a press conference today Mr. Dimitur Yonchev, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the BSP, said that "we should not judge hastily, especially the big states' actions, like Bulgaria used to do in the past."

The BSP opposes the re-registration of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) as a party. The DPS

unites about 100,000 ethnic Turks. If the movement is legalized in court, that will actually allow a party, established on ethnical basis, to take part in the coming parliamentary and local elections.

The BSP says that despite the declared principles, the DPS has established a political monopoly in some regions. It follows a policy of ethnic contrast, the BSP's leadership says. They suggest that the DPS seek representation in the different political formations and thus try to influence public life.

"We find such a re-registration and the open pressure in its favour intolerable," said Mr. Yonchev.

SDS Criticizes BSP Position

AU2008195391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Statement by unidentified spokesman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, "concerning the military coup in the Soviet Union and the events there"; place and date not given—live]

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], in the person of its National Coordinating Council, was the first political force in Bulgaria to adopt a categorical negative stance, or indeed a stance of any kind, regarding the anticonstitutional Stalinist coup carried out in Moscow.

At precisely 1300 on 19 August, the spokesman read a declaration of the SDS National Coordinating Council on the Khorizont Program of Radio Sofia. I am making the present statement not to stress the timeliness of our reaction, but to point out that our main opponents, the leaders of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]-Communists, once again, just as in the case of the conflict situations in the Baltics, Lithuania, and Yugoslavia, are adopting a wait-and-see, nonindependent position of compromise. The reason for this is, of course, that despite all their declarations they do not want to dissociate themselves from the reactionary Stalinist forces in Moscow, in Belgrade, and anywhere else, and that they are preserving for themselves just in case, in the event of a radical reversal, the possibility of returning to the bosom of orthodox communism.

Only hours after the broadcasting of our declaration, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov stated the following on the same Khorizont Radio Program: Not a single state, not a single politician, as far as I am informed, has committed itself or himself to a final assessment of what is happening in the USSR, because of the lack of sufficient information—end quote. Mr. Lilov said this on the same radio station that, thanks to the high professionalism of its journalists, from 0800 on 19 August literally poured out comprehensive information, and after we had all heard of the appeal broadcast at 0900 by President Yeltsin and other leaders of Russia, which perfectly clearly characterized the event as a right-wing reactionary, anticonstitutional coup.

At the same time that Mr. Lilov was making his statement, and in the same studio in which he was making it, the television monitor was continuously transmitting the CNN program, which was broadcasting reports from Moscow showing tanks in the streets, as well as Yeltsin reading his decree, having climbed onto one of the tanks. However, for Mr. Lilov, this information is not sufficient.

Despite the journalists' persistence, for incomprehensible reasons Mr. Lukanov failed to adopt a position. He will do this when his party receives sufficient information, he said.

Mrs. Nora Ananieva expressed her alarm because, as she said, all our development is a consequence of the processes in the Soviet Union. These are the precise words spoken by the leader of the BSP legislative group. No, Mrs. Ananieva. The events in Bulgaria during the last two years are simply a release of the political energy of the Bulgarian that was held in check for decades and oppressed by the very Soviet Union that you love so much, and this became possible simply because this Soviet Union was no longer able to continue to carry out its imperial functions. For this, one needs men, money, ideas, and weapons. At the moment the Soviet Union only has the last at its disposal [words indistinct], and what happened in Moscow and St. Petersburg, in Riga and Vilnius, were attempts by the Soviet to stifle what is normal, human, and natural. President Zhelev is right that the military coup is a test for all the democratic forces in Bulgaria. The supporters of perestroyka in the BSP should clearly understand that this perestroyka simply cannot take place. Communist parties do not reform themselves within. It was no accident that Yeltsin, Shevardnadze, and Yakovlev left the CPSU. Democracy is not achieved with a totalitarian education. They simply represent an eternal threat to democracy.

Army Daily Interviews Popov on Army Day

AU1808141391 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Aug 91 p 1

[Interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Dimitur Popov by Major Lyubomir Denov; place and date not given—"Guarantor of Peaceful Transition"]

[Text] On the eve of Army Day our newspaper's Editorial Board begins a series of interviews with noted state and political figures on the current issues of national security and the Army's present and future. Today we carry the interview with Prime Minister Popov.

[Denov] Mr. Prime Minister, could you please share your view of our country's national security?

[Popov] Under conditions of transition toward a democratic society Bulgaria still does not have a clear and

complete concept on the country's security. However, this does not mean that no work is being done in this sphere and that I do not have my views on this matter. Stressing the great complexity of the issue I would briefly point your attention to some major aspects of national security: the Army, the police, the economic guarantees, and the criteria on assessing the personnel. For reasons of time and space I cannot develop those views in more detail; however, I must point out that one should not differentiate between the country's foreign and domestic policy. This is because all global problems that affect the Army also apply to the police and vice versa. However, this does not mean that the two armed systems should merge. What I mean is that there is a need for coordination, equal starting positions, and a common concept on the country's security.

The economic realities in the region and Europe merit special attention today. They are the active factor in internal and foreign policy, which gives meaning to the presence and possible engagement of the Armed Forces.

I would like to especially stress the role of bilateral political relations. Today they become a basic and exceptionally efficient mechanism of guaranteeing the country's security.

I would place the guarantees in second place. I mean political and other guarantees that secure our national sovereignty. This issue has broad contents that could sharply change under the influence of the circumstances. Now this topic is actively being discussed at the National Security Council. It is being studied from a purely scientific point of view—historical, political, and military. The efforts of many institutions and highly qualified experts are concentrated in this sphere.

Bulgaria's domestic and foreign policy is yet to be based on the concept of the country's national security. Therefore, we need this concept very much today.

[Denov] What is the Army's place and role in the democratic processes? Do you think that it implements its role as a guarantor of the peaceful transition?

[Popov] The Bulgarian Army is the armed fist that is called upon in practice to defend the country's independence and territorial integrity. Furthermore, the Army trains the soldiers and forms their characters. It educates soldiers with a clear national self-consciousness, ready to sacrifice themselves in the name of Bulgaria.

Today the Army is one of the basic stabilizing factors that guarantee the country's order and tranquillity—something that has a special importance in implementing the peaceful transition from totalitarian to democratic society. The Army is a school of heroism, patriotism, military knowledge, skill, and experience, without which no soldier could implement his holy duty.

[Denov] Mr. Popov, how do you see the future of the Bulgarian Army?

[Popov] Our Army must be preserved as an institution in which every Bulgarian who reaches a certain age can obtain the appropriate military training. Simultaneously, we must create a structure of professionals with high qualities. This structure must be the Army's skeleton. Without this professional nucleus it would be impossible to properly lead and direct the military personnel or cope with the complex military equipment.

In other words, we must have a modern Army with new structures, modern weapons, and possibilities of activity under all conditions. We need such an Army not only in the case of a war. The peaceful circumstances could sharply change, and then there will be no time for training new cadres.

[Denov] In 10 days the Bulgarian soldiers will celebrate their holiday for the first time on 23 August. What would you wish them through the pages of our newspaper?

[Popov] I expressed one of my wishes a few days ago at the meeting with the newly promoted Bulgarian generals. On its holiday the Army again must understand that it is a part of the people and that it belongs to the people. Therefore, it can have no other interest but Bulgaria's national interest, and it must fully implement its commitment to guarantee the country's independence and territorial integrity.

On the eve of the Army holiday I would like to remind the soldiers that they must implement their great mission, to prepare for something that has always kept them in high esteem in the eyes of the people, namely, to die with dignity for the motherland, if this becomes necessary.

BSDP Leader Interviewed

AU2008095691 Sofia in Bulgarian
14 Aug 91 p 1

[Interview with Social Democratic Party Chairman [BSDP] Petur Dertliev by Major Lyubomir Denov; place and date not given: "Consensus Is Necessary"]

[Excerpts] [Denov] Would you like to share your view of the country's national security?

[Dertliev] I welcome your question because, for the time being, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] is the only political formation that has an absolutely clear opinion about the problems of national security and the Army. On the other hand, this fact is not a very pleasant one, because national security is an issue that requires a quick consensus on the part of the various parties. There will be differences and confrontation on other issues, but the national security doctrine requires an obligatory consensus. The current lack of a defense concept essentially affects our internal and international policy. This is inevitable, because those policies are linked and they require an essential unity. This is also the case because, since the liberation from the Turkish yoke, the Bulgarian

Army has not lost a single battle. It was the politicians, to whose ranks I also belong, who lost battles....

The situation of the Army rates first among all aspects of national security. This is dictated by the fateful nature of our time. Many people today do not understand that the issue in question is not the Army or the police, but the nation, whose security has been shaken, not because anyone threatens it, but because it does not have a sufficient defense capacity. Perhaps this capacity will never be used, let us hope so, but it is necessary for the country's self-esteem, the stability of our development, the confidence in the future. I do not have the slightest desire to spread panic, however, the example of the Ilinden Insurrection, when politicians were blinded by the struggle for power while people were killed, is also topical today. [passage omitted]

[Denov] Mr. Dertliev, how do you see the development of the Bulgarian Army?

[Dertliev] The BSDP program incorporates the understanding that our Army cannot develop if it does not become professional. Naturally, this is connected with great expenditure, but I am convinced that the government does not intend to feed a foreign army.... We think that the minister of defense must be a civilian. He should conduct the military policy of the governmental team, while the commander of the General Staff should resolve the strategic issues related to the construction and development of the Army.

The demographic trend in our country requires us to implement the professional principle. A Kutuzov-type [general who led masses of conscripted troops against Napoleon] army is no longer possible. On the one hand, we do not have that many young men, and on the other, we cannot allow their mobilization, which at certain periods represents a clear loss of human resources. Life dictates the following: It is better to have fewer, but better trained soldiers, and a sufficient quantity of modern and efficient military equipment.

In other words, I see the future of the Bulgarian Army in those young and sprightly officers who attract the longing glances from the young girls and inspire the envy of us civilians.

[Denov] Would you like to wish the Bulgarian soldiers something on the eve of the Army Day?

[Dertliev] They must love Bulgaria as all those whose names and faces shine today on our flags. Let society love them. Let us quickly return to the time when a girl refused to marry a young man who had not been at least a corporal in the Army.

Donchev Denies Close Links to Soviet Army

AU2008185991 Sofia BTA in English
1649 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—The Bulgarian military are not plotting a coup, Captain Tsvyatko Donchev, spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, said on the National Radio today. Captain Donchev stressed that all Bulgarian military units are stationed at their usual places.

Captain Donchev told a press conference that the Bulgarian military are not aware of the motives of the Soviet Army to participate in the takeover. The Bulgarian and the Soviet Army no longer maintain close information links such as used to exist at the time of the Warsaw Pact, Captain Donchev said.

The spokesman for the Ministry of Defence described what happened in the Soviet Union as a "coup d'etat."

Prosecutor To Question Zhivkov on Economic Case

AU2008143691 Sofia BTA in English
1412 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—Tomorrow Todor Zhivkov is to be interrogated within Case Four of the Prosecutor General's Office on the economic crisis. The interrogation will be held in the present National Investigation Department in Sofia, well-informed sources reported.

Todor Zhivkov is in good health. At least the forensic and the psychiatric reports say that his state of health is no obstacle to his appearance in court for three hours a day.

The hearing of the Zhivkov case is to be scheduled soon. 54 more witnesses are to be questioned. Most important for the outcome of the trial is the testimony of General Milushev, the former head of the Security and Protection Office. He used to be in charge of Todor Zhivkov's security. General Milushev's preliminary investigation file covers 123 pages.

Havel Discusses USSR, Borders, Soviet Troops

AU2108124591 Prague CTK in English 1229 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Prague Aug 19 (CTK)— "I am convinced that no immediate danger threatens us (Czechoslovakia). Our international position is firm and the process of radical political and economic transformation is irreversible," Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told journalists here today. [passage omitted]

Havel said he did not receive any letter from Gennadiy Yanayev which he reportedly addressed to all heads of state.

Havel announced the Council of State Defense, of which he is the chairman, will probably meet tomorrow. He will keep in contact with the Czechoslovak Defense Minister and with Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky.

"We must be ready for a possible exodus of the Ukrainians," Havel said.

The Slovak Republic, which makes up Czechoslovakia together with the Czech Republic, borders on the Soviet Union. The border is about 100 km long.

Havel also commented on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia which was carried out on the basis of a treaty signed with the USSR in February 1990 and which ended in June this year. He said the relief it brought is even greater in the light of the latest developments. (75,000 Soviet troops were stationed in Czechoslovakia before the withdrawal.)

On the possible transport of Soviet troops back home from the former East Germany via Czechoslovakia, Havel's spokesman Michael Zantovsky said this question will have to be reconsidered.

Earlier, Czechoslovakia said the transition of the troops via its territory would be possible only after the departure of Soviet troops which ended last June.

Zantovsky said Czechoslovak authorities are in contact with the Polish Embassy in Czechoslovakia and will also contact Hungary in an effort to coordinate attitudes to the developments in the Soviet Union.

Speaking about the situation on the Czechoslovak-Soviet border, Zantovsky said it is monitored by the Czechoslovak Interior and Defense Ministries, and added it seems no danger threatens the country.

Explaining Havel's attitude to the proposal to hold a referendum on the form of coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks, Zantovsky said Havel believes it could be purposeful.

Disputes concerning coexistence of the two nations are the main stumbling blocks in the drafting of a new Czechoslovak Constitution, and may cause the constitution will not be ready before the next parliamentary elections.

Nevertheless, Havel believes the Constitution should be approved by parliament before the elections, scheduled to take place by June 1992, Zantovsky said.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 20 August on pages 1 and 2 carries a 500-word Marcela Pechackova report on the above briefing. It includes the following additional passage: "According to Michael Zantovsky, President Vaclav Havel does not intend to react to the insults hurled at the head of state by Republican leader Sladek during the weekend. It is up to the prosecutor's office to assess the degree to which Sladek committed an act constituting a criminal offense."]

Havel, Calfa Meet Press on USSR Events

LD2108035891 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Communique issued by the State Defense Council in Prague on 20 August extraordinary session on 20 August; read by Prime Minister Marian Calfa with questions by unidentified correspondents and comments by Jan Carnogursky and Petr Pithart—recorded]

[Text] The extraordinary session of the State Defense Council was held in Prague today. Republic President Vaclav Havel, Prime Minister Marian Calfa, and Jan Carnogursky and Petr Pithart, the prime ministers of the two republic governments, spoke to journalists afterward.

Marian Calfa first read the communique from the extraordinary session of the State Defense Council:

[Begin recording] [Calfa] On 20 August 1991, on initiative and in the presence of CSFR President Vaclav Havel, the State Defense Council convened to discuss the possible consequences of the nonconstitutional takeover of power in the USSR and the CSFR situation. The State Defense Council acquainted itself with the information of the ministers of defense, foreign affairs, interior, economy, communications, and of the prime ministers of the republic governments on the measures adopted so far. It approved these measures for the defense of the state, securing continuing supplies to the CFSR, the running of objects of special importance, and the reinforcement of the defense of state borders against the uncontrollable movement of the population from neighboring countries to our territory. The State Defense Council noted that the development of the situation in the USSR currently does not give grounds for the assumption that the state integrity of the CSFR, its territorial entirety, or the entire direction of the transformation of our society would be in any immediate danger. The State Defense Council went on to note that the Federal and republic governments have been implementing their executive power fully in the area of security and the defense of the state, and, in proper cooperation, to safeguard the conditions for regular, uninterrrupted supplies to the population and the implementation of their constitutional jurisdictions. To the

ministers of defense and interior of the Federal government, the State Defense Council intends to put forward proposals at the next session of the CSFR Government for a potential creation of a law that is needed for the reinforcement of the internal and external security of the state. The State Defense Council will be assessing continuously all further information about the development of the situation in Central Europe.

[Havel, in Czech] Regarding this situation, I would like to make a few points. First, the development in the USSR is not quite clear. The situation appears to be open, and what will happen next is not quite clear. However, certain things are clear already now. It is clear that the Committee for the State of Emergency has come to power in an unconstitutional way. It is clear that its policy statements signal that there is a chance that human rights could be considerably violated and democratically elected parliaments and governments liquidated. It is clear that President Gorbachev has been overthrown. It should be said that President Gorbachev is a man who has devoted his services to important changes on a worldwide scale. Important disarmament talks were made possible and could succeed thanks to his policy. The liberation of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe was also influenced by his policy. There is a serious danger that the development toward democracy and emancipation of the peoples in the USSR has been seriously threatened. This is reason for political anxiety. Let's realize, for example, that Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president, is a man elected by dozens of millions of people in a direct presidential vote. A possible dismissal of Boris Yeltsin constitutes an evident attack against fundamental democratic values and principles. At the same time, I would, however, like to say that citizens in our Republic do not have to be alarmed. There is nothing testifying to the fact that this group that came to power would harbor any kind of expansion plans. We have made the most essential measures necessary to protect our freedom, our democracy, and our security. Should some symphatizers with this kind of development in the USSR, who might find this development promising to their own ends, surface in our country, then I can say beforehand that they have no chance. That's all.

[Reporter, in Czech] Allow me a question: Do you have any information on the fate of Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Havel] No.

[Reporter, in Czech] Does this matter affect Slovakia directly?

[Calfa] So far, we have not had any information about either an immediate threat or any other action that could possibly be intended to violate the existing order in Slovakia from within. Potentially, this could affect Slovakia in an increased level of, for example, a greater influx of immigrants. So far, nothing of the kind has taken place.

[Reporter, in Czech] How are you preparing for it? After all, there is no refugee camp in Slovakia.

[Calfa] There is, there is a refugee camp: (Leshch), in central Slovakia, which has a capacity of about 5,000 people.

[Reporter, in Czech] Are there signals that an activization of the old power structures is taking place? I mean, in the whole of the CSFR?

[Calfa] No, we do not have such signals.

[Reporter, in Czech] I would like to ask Prime Minister Pithart: Until now, you have been stating that the Czech Republic is not directly under threat and does not feel directly threatened in any way. Has this situation changed or not?

[Pithart, in Czech] [Words indistinct], but I do not say this on the basis of impressions. We wish to keep this very carefully under scrutiny, and we are keeping it under scrutiny. That means, no, nothing has changed so far.

[Havel, in Czech] So far, as far as our international contacts and relations are concerned, we are carrying out very intensive talks with various representatives of foreign states and international communities. Late last night, there was a telephone call from President Bush, with whom I had a conversation on the situation lasting about 20 minutes. I spoke with Chancellor Vranitzky, and today I will have telephone conversations with other statesmen. We are also coordinating our policy with the Poles and Hungarians, and, naturally, in these political contacts, on the one hand, we make it clear that, similarly to Western European countries, we are on the side of freedom and democracy, and, on the other hand, we are being assured that we are being seen as part of democratic freedom, that our development is considered to be irreversible, and we are being given certain assurances, though so far only political. Nevertheless, it seems to me that, in a certain sense, our movement toward the countries of Western Europe—that is, to countries that preserve democratic values continually, of which we feel a part—can paradoxically be accelerated in its own way as a result of this bad situation.

[Reporter, in Czech] Mr. President, what is your personal, so to speak, human feeling on the fate, the probable fate of Mr. Gorbachev?

[Havel, in Czech] Naturally, I am very concerned about him, because if the situation does not start improving for the better, as I said the situation still appears to be open and unclear, and if the conservative regime strengthens in some way and will truly begin to implement everything it is threatening, then I am even afraid for his life.

[Reporter, in Czech] Are you considering some kind of catastrophic scenario for any eventuality? Did you talk about anything of the kind?

[CSFR Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy] Naturally, we discussed here today the question of supplies to the CSFR of strategic raw materials. We now do not see the situation as critical. Even the latest reports in the latest days and hours so far do not indicate that such a scenario would have to be used, but, of course, it is necessary to have it ready. We do have it. [end recording]

Defense Council Meets on Border Security

LD2108030191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1800 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] The special security staff established in light of events in the USSR met for the second time in Prague today. Proposals reached at the staff's previous meeting were submitted by Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos at today's meeting of the Defense Council, which endorsed them. At the same time, the Council instructed Jan Langos and Federal National Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky to submit some of the proposals to the Federal Government for approval. The proposals concern, in particular, an agreement on cooperation between the Army and the Interior Ministry in guarding state borders. This involves specifically the allocation of more than 6,000 soldiers to protect the borders. According to Martin Fendrych, Interior Ministry spokesman, protection of the eastern border was reinforced yesterday by 60 men, and another 200 men were moved there today. Around 450 people are serving on the eastern border at present, which is, on average, three men for every two kilometers. Military equipment was not moved to the eastern border. Customs formalities at border crossings are being enforced more strictly in the case of road cargo transport. A stricter regime is being enforced at civilian airports; motor fuel stores are being guarded. A mobile rapid deployment unit was set up at Prague's Ruzyne Airport, and police ammunition and arms stores are also being guarded. Martin Fendrych went on to state that the situation on the CSFR's eastern borders has not shown any changes.

Havel Discusses USSR With World Leaders

Bush Assures Support

LD2008095391 Prague CTK in English 0616 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 20 (CTK)—U.S.President George Bush last night called Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to assure him that the United States regards democratic development in Czecho- slovakia, Poland and Hungary as irreversible.

Bush assured Havel of U.S. political support. He said the United States is anxious that the three countries should not be adversely affected by developments in the USSR in any way.

Havel said that a wave of indignation at the coup in the Soviet Union is rising in Czechoslovakia and there were also fears for Czechoslovakia's own security. He said he believed the Soviet Union did not consider any expansion at this moment.

Havel said that what disquieted him most was the call by the state emergency committee to dissolve democratically elected parliaments and governments, and added that the argument that Russian President Boris Yeltsin had been elected directly by the majority of the population of the Russian Federation should be used to support him.

Havel Phones Leaders

LD2108001991 Prague CTK in English 2133 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 20 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel held a 15-minute telephone conversation with Russian President Boris Yeltsin at 20.00 CET [Central Europe Time] tonight, assuring him of Czechoslovakia's support for the legitimate leaders of the Soviet Union, Russia and other Union republics.

Yeltsin denounced the conduct of the Emergency Committee and said all its decisions are invalid. He did not rule out the possiblity of an armed attack against the building in which the Russian leadership is meeting.

Yeltsin said troops are joining the Russian side and stressed the Russian leadership will by no means give way to pressure.

He said Gorbachev is in good health and capable of performing his constitutional duties, and called for Gorbachev's liberation from house arrest in the Crimea.

Also tonight, Havel phoned to French President Francois Mitterrand. They noted that they hold fully identical views on the situation in the Soviet Union.

Mitterrand expressed the permanent support of France and the other Western countries for the transformation processes in Czechoslovakia and other Central and East European countries.

Identical views on the developments in the Soviet Union were also noted in Havel's telephone discussion with Hans Van der Broek, foreign minister of the Netherlands which now holds the rotating presidency of the European Community.

Havel and Van der Broek expressed support for Soviet legitimate bodies and for Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

Havel Confers With Major

LD2008224391 Prague CTK in English 1757 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 20 (CTK)—In a telephone conversation today with British Premier John Major, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel welcomed the statement issued by European Community (E C) foreign ministers on the situation in the Soviet Union.

In an emergency session called in response to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's ouster yesterday morning, the EC today demanded that Gorbachev be returned to his position and suspended more than 1,000 million dollars in aid to Moscow.

Havel especially thanked Major for the EC's reiteration of its "desire to conclude association agreements with Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia in the near future, "a phrase suggested by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

The two officials agreed that the societal and economic transformations in Central and Eastern Europe are irrevocable.

Slovak Presidium Regrets USSR Events

LD2108033491 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] The Slovak National Council Presidium this afternoon adopted a statement which says, among other things:

The Slovak National Council Presidium met at its regular session, on the eve of the 23d anniversary of the invasion of the troops of five Warsaw Pact countries into the CSFR, and received with concern the latest news about the situation in the USSR. The events of the last two days reminded us of the tragic situation in August 1968, when our hopes to launch the way to democracy and prosperity were buried, says the Slovak National Council Presidium statement. It took almost 20 years before restructuring in the USSR made possible the relaxation of international tension and made easier our peaceful democratic revolution in November 1989. We have entered the path to a state based on a law of political and economic plurality, with the aim to overcome economic stagnation and the moral crisis of society. We consider this process irreversible.

The Slovak National Council Presidium expressed a conviction that the process of democratic changes in the USSR will be restored and will be continuing by using constitutional means without the use of force. Only this guarantees that new freezing of international relations in Europe and in the world will not take place.

The Slovak National Council Presidium assures the citizens of Slovakia that, in the spirit of its constitutional duty, it will do its utmost to enable the effort started in 1989 to continue without jeopardy and said that it needed the cooperation and support of all citizens in this.

Communist Party Critical of Gorbachev Ouster

LD2008212191 Prague CTK in English 1248 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 20 (CTK)—The chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSCS) Federal Council, Pavol Kanis, told reporters today the unconstitutional solution of social problems in the Soviet Union is unacceptable for communists.

Kanis praised the cautious statements by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and government officials on the country's relations with the Soviet Union for not allowing the spread of panic.

He acknowledged that the events in the Soviet Union would have a negative impact on his party's political future. "For many, it will be an argument for making attacks on us", Kanis said.

The chairman of the Slovak Democratic Left Party (SDL, Former Communists), Peter Weiss, told a press conference in Bratislava today "The way Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev was toppled from power....cannot leave anyone indifferent".

Weiss said it is impossible to halt the democratic changes started by Gorbachev.

'Methodology' of Slovak Privatization Outlined

AU2108090591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 Aug 91 p 7

["st"-signed report: "Shareholding Companies—The Most Frequent Type; The Methodology of Large-Scale Privatization"]

[Text] Large-scale privatization is currently the most relevant issue of the economic reform. Nonetheless, it is as though some ministerial departments have not taken this fact into account. According to the [Slovak] Government's guidelines and principles, they were to divide the volume of property to be privatized by means of the coupon method in the first and second privatization waves. The volume of property to be privatized in the second phase is 37.4 billion korunas higher. It needs to be said that the concept of privatization respects the tasks and the timetable of measures to which the CSFR Government committed itself in the Memorandum on Development Policy, a document that we submitted to the World Bank with the request for a loan.

Privatization will affect state enterprises, the Slovak State Insurance Company, foreign trade enterprises and special-purpose foreign trade organizations, as well as the state's property stakes in businesses of other juridical persons. Enterprises are being divided into three categories—those that will not be denationalized; enterprises that will be denationalized; and enterprises that will be privatized, with the latter being subdivided into those included in the first and second waves of coupon privatization.

The following enterprises will not be denationalized—public utility enterprises that have no competitors, loss-making businesses, establishments of basic research, state testing laboratories, secondary vocational training centers, universities, museums, state archives, enterprises earmarked for liquidation, and state material and contingency reserve funds. The second category comprises enterprises in which the state's majority stake is warranted. A private minority stake provides virtually no opportunity to actively influence the organization's operations, particularly if it is

dispersed. The state's property stake will, however, be confined only to cases in which it is warranted—arms factories, railroads, electricity generation, steel mills, mines, and the like. The circumstance that an enterprise fulfills state orders or seeks a foreign partner is no reason for the state to maintain a stake in its ownership. In the opinion of the Slovak Republic Government, these and other activities will be implemented more efficiently and objectively by privatized enterprises. The third category will comprise enterprises in which everyone will be able to seek a stake by means of coupons. Subsidized and budget-funded state organizations will be privatized only if they make a profit. With respect to budget-funded organizations, only their fixed assets will be privatized and their financial assets will be allocated to the state budget. With respect to subsidized organizations, all their assets, including financial assets, will be subject to privatization.

The Slovak Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property recommended to the Slovak Republic Government that organizations involved in basic research in the sphere of public interest not be included in privatization and that they operate predominantly as subsidized organizations. Privatization will most frequently take the form of the founding of a shareholding company.

Statistical Office Reports Inflation Through July

AU2108124691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Aug 91 p 11

[Federal Statistical Office report: "The Development of Consumer Prices and the Cost of Living in July"]

[Text] Compared to the same period last year, the average overall level of consumer prices was 61.1 percent higher in the seven months of this year.

During the price liberalization period, that is, from December to July, consumer prices rose 49.2 percent (during the first seven months the average price increase was 41.4 percent, as compared to December 1990). Of this, the most pronounced increase of 67.4 percent was recorded in the prices for industrial products, public catering 46.2 percent, services 40.9 percent, and food 27.2 percent.

After the significant price increase at the beginning of the year, inflation gradually slowed (the price increase was 25.8 percent in January, 7 percent in February, 4.7 percent in March, 2.0 percent in April, 1.9 percent in May, and 1.8 percent in June—figures are compared to the previous month). In July, the overall level of consumer prices remained at the level of the previous month (a 0.1 percent drop), while prices for individual groups of products and services moved in both directions. Prices for food products, public catering, and services rose between 0.4 to 0.6 percent and prices for industrial products declined 0.6 percent compared to June.

The level of consumer prices in July, as compared to December 1990, is still slightly higher in the Slovak Republic (52.5 percent) than in the Czech Republic (47.6 percent). This is mainly a consequence of higher price increases in the Slovak Republic at the beginning of the year.

The consumer price increase was reflected in the rise in the cost of living, which rose from December 1990 to July 45.3 percent in farmers' households, 44.1 percent in workers' and employees' households, and 43.5 percent in pensioners' households (of this, 43.0 percent in case of pensioners with low income).

Klaus Comments on Bankruptcy Law in Czech Daily

AU2008121791 Prague CTK in English 0642 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 16 (CTK)— Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus comments in today's edition of "OBCANSKY DENIK" on the recently passed law on bankruptcy. The main reason so many enterprises are having balance of payments problems, Klaus writes, is that while they supplied and are supplying each other with products, they did not pay for and are not paying for what they received and receive, nor even did they demand or are they demanding payment. Instead, they ask the state to write off their debts to save themselves from mass bankruptcy and its consequences. Klaus says the new law will deal with the matter by letting uncompetitive enterprises go under, while at the same time providing an opportunity to those which are burdened by debt but otherwise viable to deal with their problems by restructuring operations and securing better trading partners.

MNI, VPN Present Positions on Referendum

AU2008121991 Prague CTK in English 1522 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Bratislava Aug 15 (CTK)— The chairman of the Hungarian Independent Initiative (MNI, a Slovak Government coalition member), Laszlo Nagy, told journalists here today the MNI would be in favor of a referendum on Czechoslovakia's future setup only if the Czech and Slovak parliaments fail to sign a treaty on the setup.

The treaty must also contain the principles on which a new Czechoslovak Constitution would be based, he said.

Nagy said the MNI supports the initiative by the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the Civic Movement (OH) to negotiate the country's setup with Slovak politicians. Nagy recalled Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's offer to hold talks on the issue with all political forces. If these talks yield no results, then as a last resort calling a referendum should be considered, Nagy said.

He dismissed claims that the Czechoslovak population is not mature enough for a referendum.

The Slovak Public Against Violence (VPN) movement says in a statement presented to CTK today that the latest public opinion polls show that almost three-quarters of the population of the Slovak Republic want a common state.

The statement says if Czech and Slovak politicians do not respect these results, the VPN would consider it necessary to hold a referendum on Czechoslovakia's setup.

The present uncertainty over this issue must be put an end to as soon as possible, the statement says. Postponement of a solution until the next parliamentary elections in 1992 would run counter to the public interest, it stresses.

DS: Meciar's Coalition Offer 'Meaningless'

AU2008122091 Prague CTK in English 1835 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Bratislava Aug 15 (CTK)— The Democratic Party (DS) today dismissed as "meaningless" statements made yesterday by Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), that the HZDS might support an exclusively Christian Democratic (KDH) Government in Slovakia if the KDH joins the HZDS in a "grand coalition" in the regional parliament.

The current Slovak Government is made up of the KDH, the DS, the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement, and the Hungarian Independent Initiative (MNI).

DS Deputy Chairman Peter Missik told CTK that the existing coalition is functioning well and the HZDS proposal is unrealistic. The KDH itself would not accept such a government, he said.

Missik said the DS considers the main task of the Slovak Government the transition to a market economy.

USSR Events May Affect Troop Withdrawal Talks

LD1908142291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1030 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Report by Gabor Kereszti on the "inauguration of officers" on 19 August; place not given]

[Text] [Kereszti] The latest reports warn us that we must safeguard the democracy we have gained, Lajos Fur said in his speech, alluding to the USSR events. As he said, it is also necessary to know how to maintain the freedom for which it has suffered. Speaking to the officers, the defense minister said that the Hungarian security system stands on three pillars. Its first essential pillar is the safeguarding of political and economic stability; the second is the shaping of multilateral cooperation with the various European organizations; and the third is the strength of the Hungarian Army. This strength, of course, does not threaten; it only defends, he said.

Incidentally, President Arpad Goncz, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, Assembly Speaker Gyorgy Szabad, the entire Hungarian Army general staff, and legislative deputies also appeared at the ceremony. Despite their attempts, the journalists did not manage to get from any of them a reaction to the Moscow events. However, Lieutenant General Antal Annus, the leader of the Hungarian negotiating delegation at the discussions dealing with the financial accounting of the Soviet troop withdrawals, stepped before the microphone:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Annus, how far could the new situation that has evolved in the USSR influence the series of Hungarian-Soviet discussions that are currently in progress?

[Annus] I do not know yet how it will affect it precisely. My opinion is that by the end of the discussions it might, at any rate, have some kind of effect.

[Correspondent] What do you mean?

[Annus] I would not try to guess as yet.

[Correspondent] Where is the Soviet negotiating delegation staying now?

[Annus] I believe that a cultural program was organized for them, and we plan to meet Mr. Grishin today.

[Correspondent] In your view, could the Soviet delegation receive some kind of new tactics from Moscow?

[Annus] As we can conclude from the news, there is a completely new situation there, and in a new situation, it is not certain that the mandate, the mission, the authorization and its content, with which Mr. Grishin and his fellows have come here, will remain unchanged.

[Correspondent] Is the Hungarian side prepared for this?

[Annus] Yes, for every variant. [end recording]

Foreign State Secretary on USSR Situation

LD2008164891 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0430 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Studio interview with Tamas Katona, state secretary for foreign affairs, by unidentified reporter—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Our studio guest is Tamas Katona, state secretary for foreign affairs. Mr. State Secretary, can I begin by asking where you have just come from?

[Katona] From home.

[Reporter] From home? In that case, was there no meeting of the crisis staff?

[Katona] [chuckles and then hesitates] Due to the papal visit, there was a stepped-up operation in the Foreign Ministry, so it was not necessary, for this reason, to convene a separate crisis staff. But yesterday afternoon, all the Foreign Ministry leaders who are in the country at present were there. And we had plenty to talk about.

[Reporter] You are continuously maintaining contact with our Moscow Embassy?

[Katona] Naturally.

[Reporter] The latest news?

[Katona] Well, I think that throughout the world one cannot, in such moments, do anything but continuously collate information and see what develops from this situation. After all, the situation is so fluid that anything could develop from it. It could unravel, and it could also develop into a tragedy, and nobody can say which one we are really close to.

[Reporter] According to the first reactions, the first opinions, the Prime Minister's statement yesterday was extremely restrained—cautious. Can this cautiousness then be explained by this?

[Katona] I think that in this matter we must really wait for the events. The Ukrainian president, when he spoke yesterday, the same Ukrainian president who was one of the chief supporters of the idea of signing the Union treaty, began his speech with the words: I do not have enough information. What else can one do at the moment but watch, take note of the events, and form an opinion on the basis of that? Here, indeed, one has to put aside private opinions, which everyone may have. Politics must handle such a situation as this with extraordinary cautiousness.

[Reporter] In earlier decades, a fairly good telecommunications link was built up between Moscow and Budapest. Obviously the lines have remained. Is there any possibility, in principle or in practice, for the Hungarian leadership, the Foreign Ministry, or if you like the Prime Minister, the head of state, to take up direct contact and discuss things with the new Soviet leadership?

[Katona] I think that what this would require is that there should be someone at the other end of the line as well. President Bush, on the other hand—to allude to people of consequence yet again—said that while he does have a real hot line, he did not use this hot line. I do not think that these lines [?should exist].

[Reporter] What concrete possibility for action, or possibility for maneuvering, does Hungarian diplomacy have in the immediate hours and days?

[Katona] Well, Hungarian diplomacy, first of all, has the task to see to the security of the Hungarian citizens who are out there. On this score, it can indeed be said that nobody who is out there is in danger. From this point of view, therefore, everyone can be reassured.

[Reporter] Does this apply also to those Hungarians who do not live or work in Moscow?

[Katona] We have to say that, at the moment, it is in Moscow and St. Petersburg [Szentpetervar] that really serious tensions can be seen. In the Ukraine, as far as we know, there are none. In the usual hot spots, such as Lvov, there is no state of emergency. No troop movements have been observed in the Ukraine. It cannot be known precisely how big the area over which the control of events by the group that has taken over power will extend, and according to what schedule it will really evolve.

[Reporter] So the protection of our citizens, the maintaining of their security, that is one of the tasks for Hungarian diplomacy. And the others?

[Katona] Well, naturally, because the world has shrunk a great deal, to keep contact not only with the Hungarian Embassy in Moscow, but also to keep contact with the foreign governments, if possible, to coordinate our actions. We as a neighboring country are affected most directly by everything that happens in the Soviet Union. It is natural that it affects the country's economy, because in such a transitional situation, the economic relations could suffer an incredibly big loss. It is also obvious that we have to see how politics will evolve, what support this group can expect, apart from the tanks, what political program stands behind it, whether it was not some kind of hasty undertaking to prevent the signing of the Union treaty. So that is why I said the situation one day after the events is virtually just as plastic as in the first moment. It is evident that this leadership is trying to avoid a Tiananmen Square situation. There is no knowing whether it is avoidable, how long it is avoidable. What I said yesterday was that the world is watching this situation with anxiety, not only because of what has happened but also because of the way it happened. There would be a need for a constitutional unfolding.

[Reporter] So, to sum up in a couple of words, or rather a couple of sentences, Hungarian diplomacy is in a waiting mode.

[Katona] The whole world is in a waiting mode, a tensely waiting mode. Because what else can they do?

[Reporter] Mr. State Secretary, thank you for having come into the studio.

Keleti: Soviet Situation Not a Threat

LD2008163591 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0430 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Studio interview with Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, Defense Ministry spokesman—live]

[Text] [Reporter] A few hours ago (?I heard) that nothing can endanger Hungary's sovereignty, security. Has this situation changed during these few hours?

[Keleti] I think that, now at 0500 [0300 GMT], I can express the same opinion as yesterday afternoon and evening, that the events in the Soviet Union, which are first and foremost concentrated on the country's interior portion—since Moscow is the most important city from this point of view—do not endanger the security of any surrounding, neighboring country; in other words, they do not endanger the security of the Hungarian Republic either.

[Reporter] Could this state of affairs be modified by the fact that in the course of the night, or rather late last night, a good many tanks and armored vehicles crossed over to Yeltsin's side together with the soldiers?

[Keleti] It is, indeed, true that such information has come via various news media, though it has to be added that, as far as I know, this has not been confirmed. However, it must also be added that it would be very difficult to judge here from Budapest what power relations have evolved in Moscow. It would be very difficult to express an opinion as to what modifies the situation at the present moment, on the one hand from the military viewpoint and on the other hand from the politicial viewpoint. And I think it would not be a good thing, either, if we expressed a hasty opinion on this.

[Reporter] If a civil war situation spreads in the Soviet Union, what would be the first step that the Hungarian chief of staff would have to take?

[Keleti] One must reflect even on the formulation, whether one can say by now that there is a civil war in the Soviet Union or that this situation is going to spread. I think that history has given an example, unfortunately, precisely in the past few days, of how, in what manner, the situation of a country close to civil war has to be handled, and that was none other than Yugoslavia. Also in that case, we said that from a military viewpoint the events that are occurring in Yugoslavia and that have erupted because of nationality antagonisms, those can be considered as internal affairs. Naturally, insofar as the events there, too, would endanger the Hungarian Republic, an entirely new situation would come about. In my judgment, the situation is similar in the Soviet

Union as well, since a very grave social problem has to be resolved in a way that takes into consideration the fact that the way of thinking, the attitude with which the broad masses approach the present situation is such that they wish to further strengthen the democratic process. It would seem, on the basis of initial judgment, that the power that is evolving in the Soviet Union is also making use of military and internal forces to stop or curb the democratic process. In other words, it is a question of an internal affair, an event that would shape or alter a country's internal social political life. As long as this does not endanger our country's security, the sovereignty of the Hungarian Republic, we must treat it as an internal affair, and the Hungarian Army's chief of staff must also follow things with attention and take measures with an approach appropriate to this.

[Reporter] What is your opinion of another piece of news that emerged during the night, that instead of the military the police would be taking over the role of maintaining security?

[Keleti] I said already yesterday that, in my opinion, the large scale military force that went out on the streets of Moscow was a kind of show of strength, in other words to show what forces the power has at its disposal. The fact that now, instead of the military, the police are taking over the task aimed at deciding, or helping to decide, the power relations, points to the fact that they are entrusting the maintenance of street order to those experts who have received training for this, since it is common knowledge that in the armies of the world today, it very rarely happens that soldiers are prepared for street, urban battles, urban struggles. And even if they do prepare them, it is only in small groups and not as part of a comprehensive training plan relating to the entire army.

Socialist Party Condemns Gorbachev Ouster

LD2108080991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] According to the Hungarian Socialist Party, certain extremist forces have to be prevented from taking the events in the Soviet Union as an encouragement. The party leadership condemns every violation of the constitution and violence aimed at gaining power and also expresses its solidarity with Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Socialists support the Hungarian Government, saying that it should preserve relations based on equality with the Soviet Union and its republics. According to the Socialist Party, there are fears that, due to the takeover, mistrust toward the region may increase, and thus, Hungary's stability may be subject to a greater test.

Walesa Discusses Soviet Situation With World Leaders

Bush Calls Walesa

LD2008043691 Warsaw PAP in English 0036 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, August 19—The overthrow of Mikhail Gorbachev showed the continuing need for a strong U.S. presence in Europe, President Lech Walesa said on Monday.

The president's press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said that President George Bush telephoned President Walesa on Monday evening, and they spoke for 20 minutes on the situation in the Soviet Union.

President Walesa said that there was no direct threat to Poland from the Soviet side, but that further developments could not be predicted in full. Drzycimski quoted Bush as saying that it was essential for Poles "to stay calm in this complicated situation."

Walesa pointed out that economic reforms in Poland might face serious obstacles, and that Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary needed a speedy affiliation to the European Communities, which would guarantee the permanence of Poland's reforms. It would also help the reform process in the Soviet Union.

Mitterrand, Delors Calls

LD2108015891 Warsaw PAP in English 2102 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, August 20—Polish President Lech Walesa, in a telephone conversation on Tuesday with French President Francois Mitterrand, urgently requested French support in Poland's efforts to conclude association agreements with the European communities. Walesa told the French president that the disquieting events in the Soviet Union posed a potentially serious threat to the reform processes currently under way in the countries of East-Central Europe. He said that association with the EC for Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary would be the most effective means of ensuring that reform succeeded. "We will defend our achievements, independently of whether the Soviet Union is led by Gorbachev, or by another team," Walesa said, "but our actions will have less chance for success without the help of Europe, and particularly France."

Walesa noted that success to date in the economic sphere had been limited, and stressed that this was why the countries of the region needed close cooperation with Western Europe. "We should like the countries of the EC to treat us the same as other countries. We do not want to miss the opportunity which lies before us," Walesa said.

President Mitterrand said that he shared this opinion on the need for close cooperation. He added, however, that it was essential to take care over the growth of democracy. There was a need for solidarity, which France, together with the United States, Great Britain and Italy, extended towards Poland.

The two presidents agreed on the need to maintain close personal contacts during this difficult period.

Earlier, President Walesa had spoken by telephone with Jacques Delors, president of the EC Commission. Walesa told Delors that the coup in the Soviet Union posed threats for the success of the reform processes in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. "We will not be able to resolve the crisis in our own reform programme without support from Europe, without association with the EC," said President Walesa.

Jacques Delors said that he shared the view of the EC Council of Ministers that there was a need to speed up completion of the association agreements with the countries of East-Central Europe. He added that he treated President Walesa's comments very seriously indeed. He suggested that working contacts should be set up with the foreign ministers of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, as a way of ensuring a better understanding of the situation in East- Central Europe. Delors told President Walesa that the EC would publish on Tuesday a statement confirming the solidarity of the EC with Poland, and declaring a commitment to accelerate the process towards union.

Walesa Sees No Need for Security Council Meeting

LD2008173691 Warsaw PAP in English 1107 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 20—Presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said on Tuesday President Lech Walesa saw no need to call on a meeting of the National Security Council.

Drzycimski added the president was holding further consultations on the latest developments in the USSR. "Lech Walesa will try to talk with Mr. Yeltsin," he said.

Soviet Citizens Asking for Asylum

LD2108021891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Until yesterday, there were no lines at the Refugee Bureau. Today, in 5 hours, 100 people, who do not want to return to the Soviet Union, went inside. They had preliminary interviews; about 60 of them filled out applications. The remainder withdrew of their own accord, saying that they did not meet the required conditions.

[Begin refugee recording in Russian with Polish translation] Things can be made unpleasant for us in the Soviet Union. I am here at the moment, and I think if they let me stay for awhile, I would like to. The point is that no one is suggesting that we leave for any other country. We

have only two possibilities: to return to the Soviet Union or to stay here. There is nothing else left for me. [end recording]

A line also formed at the Canadian Embassy.

[Begin Canadian representative recording in English with Polish translation] About 60-80 percent of the people coming to the consulate are Soviet citizens. They ask above all about the possibilities of emigrating to Canada. The Canadian Government is watching events very closely. For the time being, however, Soviet citizens are being treated the same as the citizens of other countries. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Soviet Situation Affects Fuel Supplies

LD2008211891 Warsaw PAP in English 1652 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 20—Gasoline and diesel fuel could be bought without problems in Warsaw today, although there were queues at some filling stations.

"There is no need to worry. We have large reserves of fuel," economic and financial director of the CPN State Fuel Distribution Enterprise, Jerzy Plichta, reported.

"Increased demand for fuel stems from the situation in the Soviet Union. I believe that it is temporary and soon the fuel market will calm down", he added.

Political Party Heads React to Soviet Events

LD2008210891 Warsaw PAP in English 2221 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 19—Leaders of numerous political parties in Poland have reacted with concern to the dramatic developments in the Soviet Union and a possible threat they may cause for Poland. Most of them fear that the Soviet crisis may hamper the integration processes in Europe. They view it not only as a deposition of Mikhail Gorbachev, but a coup against democratic reforms and citizen's freedoms and rights in that country.

"The world followed the perestroyka with great hope. Also, for Poland the situation in the Soviet Union has been and continues to be of enormous importance, especially in face of the improving Polish-Soviet relations based on partnership in recent months," stated the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KL-D) leadership.

The Liberal-Democratic Congress called on other political forces in Poland to rally round the programme of reforms and structural political changes pursued by the Polish Government.

Also, the Centre Alliance (PC) appealed to other political forces in the country to put aside controversies and subordinate their interests to the most vital interests of the country and nation.

The Union of Realpolitics leader Janusz Korwin-Mikke predicted that if the Soviet generals follow the road of socialism the only alternative will be a "collapse and fall of the Soviet empire or a world war."

Leader of the Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) Aleksandr Kwasniewski said the course of events in the Soviet Union had taken him by surprise. "I am concerned over the developments in the USSR," he said, while Stanislaw Tyminski, leader of the Party said the developments in the Soviet Union are an internal affair of that country.

The Polish Socialist party (PPS) said the deposition of Mikhail Gorbachev means a set-back for the process of reforms in the Soviet Union. "We expect a change in the political course which will mean a political regress," PPS leader Wlodzimierz Olejnik said.

In the opinion of Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, leader of the Christian-Democratic Labour Party, Poland should now become an advocate of moderation in the Soviet Union.

"The stand of the Western countries vis a vis the Soviet Union as well as Poland will be of key importance," Wojciech Obernikowicz of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) said. "In order to preserve what has been initiated in our country, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank should revise their stand on the question of the Polish economic programme," he added.

The Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) suggested creating an anti-crisis team at the Polish president to watch the development of the situation and counteract threats that may emerge for Poland, and to initiate an international commission for the Soviet crisis.

Poles Working in USSR Reported Safe

LD2008214591 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1515 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] We are building as usual. That is the news passed on by employees of Budimex and Energopol, working in the Soviet Union, to their headquarters. They are working in the Ukraine, Georgia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Russia. Thanks to (Komertel), the firms are contacting their employees without difficulty.

News has arrived from [name indistinct] that no changes can be seen on the streets. Things are calm and work is progressing normally. For the moment, no one has established how many firms are operating in the eastern market, or how many Poles are there. Those who have managed to contact Poland are asking their families to keep calm, suggesting that there is no need to worry about them. A duty telephone has been set up for interested parties—25 89 63 in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Those who do not have to go should not, advises the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Meanwhile, tourists are beginning to decide against traveling to the Soviet Union. At the moment, the Polish Tourist and Local Studies Society office is not canceling

trips and is waiting for a decision from the Soviet side. Juventur [Polish youth travel organization] does not know what to do next. Thus far, it has failed to get through to the Soviet Embassy. It will decide on further trips after hearing the opinions of a group whose return is expected in a few days. The (Intersfertrans) tourist agency is in constant touch with its contracting party in Lithuania, which, believe it or not, has given assurances that things are calm and is awaiting its guests.

No Comment on Army Moves Over Soviet Events

LD1908192391 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Lieutenant General Zdzislaw Stelmaszuk, chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army and deputy minister of national defense, has refused to reply to a question about whether some steps have been taken in the Polish Army in connection with the introduction of a state of emergency in the Soviet Union so as to increase the battle readiness of the forces.

Soviet Army Communications Company Leaves for Home

LD2008162891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1515 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Soviet troops stationed in Legnica say that they found out about the state of emergency in their country from the Polish media. Up to now, they have received no order to return to the USSR. The three Soviet garrison units stationed in the Szczecin Voivodship are also without orders. A communications company left Bialogard for home today, together with their equipment, but the decision on their withdrawal was made before the official announcement of the state of emergency in the USSR. Three hundred soldiers, as a reward for their service in Poland, received electronic watches, jeans, and Adidas shoes.

Two more trains with Soviet soldiers and equipment are due to leave Bialogard towards the end of August.

Bielecki Cancels Visit to Denmark

LD1908164191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1200 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki has been speaking over the phone with Danish Prime Minister Schluter. The Polish prime minister's official visit to Denmark, planned for this coming Thursday and Friday, has been postponed.

Secret Surveillance Policy Discussed

PM1908135891 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9 Aug 91 pp 1, 13

[Interview with Zbigniew Nowak, press spokesman for Wroclaw section of the State Protection Office (UOP), by correspondent Iwona Zielinska; place, date not given; first paragraph is GAZETA ROBOTNICZA introduction]

[Excerpts] Listening and looking in on other people's lives is a repugnant activity. There are people who are paid to do it. They are reporters, policemen, and a variety of special services agents. Only those in the first group use nothing but their own eyes and ears to operate. The others make use of relevant technology. The aims of the eavesdroppers are also quite diverse. Concerning reporters, we can see and read in their papers whom they listen to and whom they investigate, and also why they do it. But we do not know whom the special services listen to and how they do it. It is easier to find out how it is done in America or in the British Isles. Here everything in this field is covered by a cloak of secrecy.

Nevertheless, we approached Zbigniew Nowak, press spokesman for the Wroclaw section of the State Protection Office, with a few questions on the subject. Nowak's track record includes nine years as a counterintelligence officer.

[Zielinska] It is assumed that Poland has no spy satellites of its own. In this case, have we ever used assistance from the USSR?

[Nowak] We certainly have no such facilities at our disposal and we have never used them. Worldwide, only the United States and the Soviet Union conduct "global intelligence" operations; they have an interest in most places around the world and they want to be present on the scene everywhere. Poland does not pretend to the role of a superpower.

[Zielinska] Apart from the military sector, are there companies in Poland which manufacture listening devices?

[Nowak] There are.

[Zielinska] Is the equipment used by our special services exclusively of Western manufacture (and Western design) or also of Polish design?

[Nowak] Also of Polish design. In any case, it is good quality equipment. Good quality means not so much difficult to detect as difficult to identify as surveillance equipment. The truth of this is attested to by the fact that quite often our novice engineers tend to miss the relevant devices or indeed do not know what they are handling.

[Zielinska] The State Protection Office Act determines who can authorize you to install telephone surveillance equipment and in what circumstances this can be allowed. Are there any regulations in Polish legislation which forbid the use of surveillance equipment by detective firms or, say, specialists in such fields as recording the night song of rare birds which are very difficult to approach at close range?

[Nowak] Certainly private detectives are not authorized to install surveillance devices. This can be done only by civilian and military special services and the police, and even then only when they have specific authorization. Our own authorization to install the appropriate technology comes from the internal affairs minister and requires endorsement from the prosecutor general. I do not know who issues the authority to listen to birds, but it is unlikely to be the prosecutor general.

[Zielinska] The police complain about the condition of their technical backup facilities and about considerable holes in their budget. What is the technological condition of your own sector? Are there instances when you are also refused the necessary resources?

[Nowak] We are by definition a secret service, so it would be improper for us to complain publicly. Besides, what would it look like if the intelligence service were to put out the strike banners?

As to our financial condition, I can disclose only the facts which have been made public already: that the UOP [State Protection Office] budget represents just a little above 4 percent of the Internal Affairs Ministry budget.

[Zielinska] When was the last time that you installed telephone surveillance equipment anywhere within the past year?

[Nowak] I cannot disclose this information, but I should like to make one thing clear here: The public respond badly to the idea of telephone tapping, which is entirely understandable. After all, it involves an infringement of personal privacy. As far as we—that is, an office set up to protest the state's interests—are concerned, we regard it solely as a means to discharge the tasks entrusted to us. We apply it only when we have no other way of obtaining the information required and—most importantly—when we are convinced that we can obtain such information by telephone surveillance. It is not within the power of any of our officers to decide whether or not to tap someone's phone. This remains within the sphere of competence of the officials whom I have already mentioned. An UOP officer can only recommend that appropriate technical equipment be installed. As you can see, we listen in on people not to satisfy our own whim or curiosity, but to protect and reinforce state security. Unfortunately, not everyone has fully understood it yet that we are a Polish special service set up to protect the Polish reason of state. However, I trust that, as time passes, we will gradually win increasing public acceptance and understanding. For the time being, we are still considerably behind such countries as, for example, Britain, where people often take pride in admitting in their memoirs that they cooperated with British intelligence or counterintelligence services or, say, Switzerland, where it is customary to acknowledge such activities in deceased agents' gravestone inscriptions—for instance, you may find a statement to the effect that the deceased served for long years as a police agent.

[Zielinska] Can you specify, in terms of percentages, to what an extent you use conventional methods of operation, such as, for example, monitoring press information or eavesdropping on people's casual chatter, and to what an extent you rely on nonconventional methods, such as directional cameras, long-range microphones, or, finally, the interception of "ordinary" correspondence?

[Nowak] It is estimated that only 20 percent of intelligence information originates from secret sources (agents and surveillance technology), and the rest from open sources—mainly the media. Press, radio, and television all constitute a veritable mine of information because, after all, reporters and spies have a lot in common. [passage omitted] Daniel Defoe himself noted that even professional intelligence officers are often amazed by many reporters' streak of genius evident in their ability to collect information.

With the Americans and the Russians, the proportions quoted above are very different, mainly because they have spy satellites which collect as much as 70 percent of intelligence information. Their intelligence gathering capabilities are colossal. As an example, we could cite the American "Big Bird" satellite which was the first to take pictures of Poland under martial law, descending to the altitude of 80 km above ground level.

[Zielinska] Last year in Britain some 35,000 telephone conversations were intercepted. Are statistical records of this kind carried out in Poland, too? Who commands this information? Can you quote the number of telephone conversations intercepted over the past year in Lower Silesia?

¡Nowak] The British hold a decisive lead n Europe when it comes to telephone surveillance. Recently BBC sources revealed that British special services listen in to international telephone and telex connections; that they are listening in to their allies, as well as—for example—to telephone conversations held by the king of Saudi Arabia, the Sultan of Brunei, and even Pope John Paul II. Despite this, I still believe that in the sphere of telephone surveillance we beat the British by a long mark—not because of the exceptionally dynamic UOP operations but because of the technological quality of our telephone communications.

In Poland you can determine the number of telephone conversations to the last unit. Those who issue the necessary authorization know very well how many such permits they have signed. If this number could not be computed precisely but only approximately, then we would have stood above the law. These matters are far too serious to permit talk in approximations, about "statistical errors,' or, as in the field of criminal investigations, of "the dark number." Of course, we can quote the precise number of intercepted telephone conversations in Lowe Silesia. We are actually obliged to do so, but only to agencies statutorily empowered to request such information, and certainly not to the press.

[Zielinska] In the past few years, have intelligence and counterintelligence specialists assisted you in installing telephone surveillance equipment whenever required by the Security Service [SB]? Or has the SB operated its own specialists, who may now be working in your establishment?

[Nowak] We must not pretend that, during the time when the information gleaned from political broadsheets was of greater consequence than that collected by spies, our intelligence and counterintelligence services did not sporadically receive the task of monitoring political activity in the country. And, though this cannot really compare with the activities of the political police, it certainly should be openly acknowledged now. And as to your question about SB specialists, our establishment employs only intelligence and counterintelligence agents who have undergone the most scrupulous security vetting.

[Zielinska] Has all the telephone surveillance equipment installed over the past few years in your particular area of operations, that is, Lower Silesia, been effectively dismantled now?

[Nowak] It certainly has, in all the instances we know about. It must be remembered that a proportion of the relevant records has been destroyed. But even if some equipment is still in place, it is not being operated. This would be a technical impossibility.

[Zielinska] It could happen that a person being investigated by your establishment—that is, being listened to or watched—finds one of your gadgets—a "bug" or something of the kind—and comes to you with a request for action. What would you do in such circumstances?

[Nowak] This kind of thing simply cannot happen. On the other hand, we do have cases when people who are not being investigated by us bring us a variety of objects—not "bugs" but "something of the kind"—which, in their opinion, constitute parts of surveillance equipment. Sometimes it is a television fuse; sometimes a broken thermostat out of an electric iron. If things continue at this rate, we will soon be able to organize quite a fascinating little exhibition of the "gadgetry" or, to call a spade a spade, collection of junk, which passes for surveillance "bugs."

If someone were to bring us a genuine surveillance device, it would pose an interesting case for our agency or the police. This is because I preclude the possibility that it could be one of our own devices. [passage omitted on types of routine techniques and devices used in surveillance operations]

Government 'Communique' on Events in Soviet Union

AU2008183991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1631 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/8/1991—The Government of Romania has learned with deep concern about the blockage of the democratic process in the Soviet Union and about the instatement of the state of emergency, runs a communique of the Romanian Government.

We deem that the evolution of events in the neighboring country, the recourse to unconstitutional methods are the sign of tendencies to reassemble totalitarian structures, are a threat to democratic values and individual freedoms, to the reform process.

The Government of Romania expresses its apprehension for the instability thus generated in this part of the world. The Romanian Government hereby reasserts Romania's fundamental, irreversible option for democratic development, for the consolidation of the state of law, the observance of human rights, and the transition to a free market economy. Romania is determined to stay an outpost of humanistic and democratic values regained with great sacrifice through the revolution of December 1989, values Romania will never agree to forsake.

The Romanian Government warns that any nostalgia for the communist totalitarianism is nothing but the harmful effect of a dangerous forgetfulness. Those who nowadays still claim that life was better in the time before December 1989 are now given the tragic opportunity to see for themselves in telecast news what that period was relying on: army forces set against their own people, economic and ideologic dictate, political interdictions and restrictions decreed without seeking the consensus of the masses.

Both the ruling power and the opposition forces must understand that cooperation is now decisive before a common and fearful danger: the restoration of the old regime. The joint rejection of this threat is now more important than everything else that separates us.

The fact that the transition to a free economy and to democracy brings along obstacles and implies a moral and spiritual strain that can only be surmounted by a huge national effort is now beyond dispute.

We hope that adequate solutions will be found in the Soviet Union for a resumption of the democratic course and of the reform, both at union and republican levels. In this part of Europe balance can be restored only with the support of the states of long democratic tradition and economically prosperous of the world. We believe the whole world is aware of that. We rely on ourselves in the first place, but we do rely on the assistance of the international community as well.

Romania and its government delimitates its actions from any anti-democratic developments, no matter whether this might entail sacrifices for Romania, expressing thus its firm choice for the ideas of human freedom and dignity, ends the communique.

Iliescu Issues Statement; Calls For Unity

AU2008180891 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Statement by President Ion Iliescu; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The events in the Soviet Union polarize the attention and the justified concern of the international public. Thus, it is even more natural that we should be very concerned about the situation in our neighboring country. Appreciating the role played by Mikhail Gorbachev in beginning the reform processes in the Soviet Union and in the detente of international life, we express our hope that he will resume his activity and his constitutional duties.

As far as we are concerned, we are directly interested in the continuation of democratic processes, all the more so since on those processes depends the fate of our brothers in the Republic of Moldova. We are convinced that the reforms that have begun in the Soviet Union cannot be stopped because the process of democratization and the renewal of economic and social life are irreversible, in spite of all obstacles.

In connection with our position, I would like to stress that Romania has chosen its own path, the path of building a state of law that includes the rights and freedoms of citizens and democratic, economic, and social reforms, and we will continue to resolutely advance along this road, the road opened up by the 1989 December revolution leading toward its achievements.

Certainly there are many difficulties; some of them are objective— generated by the complex nature of the transition processes—while others are subjective difficulties. Big gaps have already appeared between people's incomes and prices of consumer goods. As a matter of fact, the government is already studying some special measures to help those people who have a low income. However, in spite of the difficulties of our country, we must resolutely work to implement the reform and ensure the country's economic recovery. We all must understand that there is no other solution. Therefore, I call on all parties, political groups, and trade unions, and on all Romanian citizens, old and young, to work things out together. Now more than ever, we need cohesion, moral strength, and unity.

Let us not concentrate on things that separate us, but rather give priority to things that unite us. Let us not weaken our forces in struggle for group interests, but rather, let us give priority to the national interest. Let us defend our ancient land and watch over our peace and our lives. We have a 2,000-year history, precisely

because in difficult moments we knew how to stand shoulder to shoulder. We can ensure our future only if we are together.

FSN, PAC Leaders Comment on Soviet Events

AU2008162291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1450 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/8/1991—At the close of the meeting of representatives of the National Salvation Front [FSN] and the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], Nicolae Manolescu, chairman of the Civic Alliance Party, stated to the press that in such a very grave situation like that in the neighbor country, with possible long repercussions on us, we should try to find all positive, constructive standpoints that may come up for averting dangers. The situations in the Soviet Union and Romania are not identical, but they are comparable. There and here alike, the process of transition from totalitarianism to democracy requires the keeping of certain structures, former communist structures, that may be reactuated in the current circumstances. Our major preoccupation is to avert a possible slowing down, if not even a standstill in the course to democracy and reform in Romania. One must not forget that we have a very long frontier with the Soviet Union and that several million Romanians live in the occupied provinces. We must say we are worried equally by what happens here in the country and what happens in Soviet Moldova. We would like military dictatorship not to be actually established in the Soviet Union, we would like the institutions legally elected there by our Romanian brothers not to be harmed or replaced.

The Civic Alliance Party wants to reiterate its democratic standpoint truthful to the way of reform.

In turn, Vasile Secares, deputy chairman of the National Salvation Front, declared that the National Salvation Front started a string of political consultations, wishing to analyze in common the political evolutions pursuant to the events in the Soviet Union, their impact on the situation in Europe, in Central and Eastern Europe and, of course, on Romania.

The meeting with the Civic Alliance Party is a very important moment for the better understanding of the way how various political forces see things now. A few points should be made clear, namely the intention to continue the democratic process, to continue the reform, the political, social and economic transformations, to continue the effort for the stabilization of the democratic institutions and to speed up even the political process meant to generate the institutions apt to defend democracy in Romania.

Referring to the situation in the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Secares said that the ruling party hoped the democratic process and the reforms in the Soviet Union would continue and was concerned about the fate of the brothers across the Prut. It is clear, he said, that we will take the necessary steps at every moment, that we will "make clear our attitude in keeping with the course of events."

PNL-Young Wing Communique on Gorbachev Removal

AU2008200891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1856 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/8/1991—We are deeply worried about the current events in the Soviet Union because the removal of President Gorbachev by a coup is a blow dealt at democracy generally and especially at the young democracies in East-European countries, shows the communique of the Steering Committee of the National Liberal Party-Young Wing .

Likewise, the communique reads, we must note that the Romanian revolution, with its sacrifices, would not have triumphed if it had not proceeded during the process of democratization of the former socialist countries, a process started and supported by Gorbachev's policy.

The difficulties facing Romania and all the other countries in Eastern Europe are mostly due to the communist system that led to a useless and inordinate waste of human and material resources. We must not forget that the so-called "achievements" of communism meant suffering, injustice and poverty and the return to communism would have the same effects.

Against the background of the difficulties at home and of the events in the USSR, there is a danger of intensified communist treacherous propaganda the real purpose of which is to regain the former privileges to the detriment of the Romanian people's interests.

Roman Concerned Over Communist Danger

AU2108065891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1922 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRESS, 20/8/1991—Prime Minister Petre Roman of Romania cautioned on August 20 about "the danger" of an intention to reinstate communism in Romania "by those who feel nostalgia" about the former regime. In an interview with the French Television TF 1, Petre Roman assessed that such a danger "does exist and must not be neglected." "We are in a process of transition to a market economy and to democracy generally. This is not done without effort and especially without difficulties and sacrifices. Considering the economic blocking and the shortage of resources "a few nostalgic ones might try to restore communism", the prime minister said.

Premier Roman urged the international community and the developed countries to give up any reticence and to show complete solidarity with the former communist countries "in order to eliminate this danger".

Mikhail Gorbachev's ouster and the way it was done prove that there is an attempt to reinstate communism. This is a danger for us all, for this part of Europe, Roman said.

Government Discusses Domestic Issues, USSR

AU2008200991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1852 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/8/1991—The Romanian Government met on August 20, presided over by Prime Minister Petre Roman, to discuss current aspects of the economic activity related to the power and raw materials supply, the evolution of the prices with foods and consumer goods, the situation in agriculture and the balance of payments.

The ministers presented aspects mainly of the securing for the second half of the year the necessary crude and gas out of domestic production and from import, in the context of international developments.

The government analyzed the progress of cereal harvesting and autumn ploughing. Problems related to the conclusion of the application of the land law were mentioned in that respect as well.

As regarded the food supplies, the prime minister asked the relevant ministries to correlate efforts to ensure rhythmical supply, in strict observance of norms for the setting of the prices and for averging their unjustified rise with basic foods. The interim minister of agriculture and food, Petre Marculescu, presented the latest figures regarding the population's supply with foods and the steps taken with the assistance of the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the Ministry of Trade and Tourism and the Financial Guard to avert infringements of the law.

The government also analyzed the financial-banking situation and referred to the tendency of an important money supply to be blocked as a result of inadequate functioning of some enterprises.

In the same meeting, the cabinet members analyzed the evolution and implications of the events in the Soviet Union. The government's standpoint on those events was presented in an official communique which we have already released.

President Iliescu Discusses Privatization Law

AU1508143191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1043 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/8/1991—In an ample telecast comment on the privatisation law promulgated Wednesday, 14 August, President Ion Iliescu said, among other things:

"The privatisation process consists of three distinct phases: first, the free transfer of a part of the state's shares—that is 30 per cent of the value of the nominal capital of the commercial companies, as already provided by law 1)/1990 [as received]; secondly, the selling of the remaining state-owned shares, that is 70 per cent and, finally, the direct sales of assets of the commercial companies, such as production sections. Workshops, equipment that now lie idle but could be put to good use.

The free transfer, says the law, will be made through the issuance of vouchers that will stand for shares with the private property funds, which are societies of financial nature.

The management and sales of the rest of 70 per cent of state shares and bonds will be undertaken by a public institution structured as a commercial and financial company, called the state property fund and designed to operate for seven years with the obligation to annually channel to private property at least 10 per cent of the state-owned nominal shares of the commercial companies.

There are approximately 6,000 commercial companies and about 17 million citizens as potential recipients of such vouchers. Of these, only circa 4 million are directly employed with the state- capital commercial companies subject to privatisation, the remainder being civil servants, agriculturists, retirees, students and other categories.

The purpose of the private property funds as economic-financial institutions is to prevent the confusion and chaos what might arise from the public's ignorance of handling paper holdings and to ensure, for the beginning, a certain equality of chances for all the citizens that come into possession of such vouchers, including the fair distribution of annual dividends.

The funds are designed as institutions meant to ensure the citizen's protection in the initial phase of the privatisation process. As a matter of fact, the law has been amended so as to allow voucher bearers to exchange them for shares whenever they want, at their free choice, any time within the five years term provided for the operation of the private property funds.

Likewise, the law does not exclude the possibility of creating associations of the mutual fund type, if voucher bearers so desire.

Responding to proposals in alternative drafts, the law provides that, if, after the five-year operation term, the private property funds still hold vouchers unconverted into shares, the funds are authorized to turn themselves into commercial companies of mutual type and treat the remaining vouchers as shares of the newly formed companies. This reconciles apparently incompatible proposals."

Coposu Outlines National Peasant Party Views

AU2008175591 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Aug 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, by Al.

Mihalcea; place and date not given: "We Hope That the Government Will Have the Wisdom To Withdraw on Time"]

[Text] A pensive way of speaking, a completely straight backbone—both in his physical appearance and state of mind—he spent 17 years behind bars in a communist prison, which later was replaced with another prison, also a communist one; thus, nobody can accuse him of not having "eaten soy bean sausages." A political figure against whom the meanest campaign of calumny was directed, in accordance with the great danger that the continuity of the political line of the party he represents and the moral vigor of the party's leader poses to neocommunism: Mr. Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], who kindly agreed to answer some of my questions, with a generosity that probably stems from the fact that more than 30 years ago our destinies met in an island of the Gulag:

[Mihalcea] How could you define the current moment in the life of Romanian society?

[Coposu] Unfortunately, we are confronted with a disastrous situation from an economic point of view, unstable from a social point of view, and catastrophic from a moral point of view. There is the prospect that the public's dissatisfaction might have very serious consequences. Full of post-revolutionary enthusiasm, we hoped that we could start off on the road toward normalization in Romania, followed immediately by a democratic openness and that we would achieve our integration in Europe by endorsing the principles of the market economy. None of this has been achieved. The enthusiasm of that time has vanished, unfortunately, and the Romanians are confronted with a disastrous situation from every point of view. Certainly, I still hope that our country will nevertheless manage to pull itself out of the serious deadlock we are witnessing today.

[Mihalcea] Suppose the PNT-cd had been in power. In what way would you have acted differently than the current ruling party?

[Coposu] As I have often mentioned, and as we often tried to advise those in political power immediately after the revolution—that is in February 1990—the land should have been returned to the peasants. This restoration of land ownership should have been the new government's first step. Unfortunately it did not happen that way. We also advanced a draft of the land law that was ignored. After a great delay, an incomplete law has been worked out, a law that caused more dissatisfaction than satisfaction among our peasantry. Our viewpoint is the following: all private ownership over agricultural lands should be returned to the form it had in 1946. The government has resorted to half measures: the land returned was limited to 10 hectares, with correction required according to the number of people who received land and so on and so forth. The law is incomplete and is more an opportunity for bickering than satisfaction for peasants.

At the same time, the government should have proceeded to the first stage of price liberalization according to a well-organized plan, instead of taking inadequate measures that did not follow the normal course of a hierarchical system of decisions; everything was done in a helter-skelter way, with measures that, instead of the necessary price liberalization, resulted in a 300-400 percent price increase for basic goods. In our view, privatization should be a completely different thing; our experts worked out a draft that is incomparably superior to the one that the current leadership presented to the Parliament. We are convinced that our draft would have been operational indeed and would have permitted us to join the system of a market economy without the convulsions provoked by the government's draft.

All the laws initiated by those currently in power bear the mark of a Marxist-Leninist way of thinking. Certainly, the Marxist concept is not the one that can lead us to the market economy. All those who cooperated in the activity of working out the draft law could not get rid of the Marxist ideas and the result was a normative act, that, if implemented, will have catastrophic effects on the Romanian economy. We hope it will not be implemented; it lies in the power of the country's president to send it back to the legal chambers in order to be re-examined. We hope that he will do it. It is inconceivable that 70 percent of our material base and our national wealth should be in the hands of the executive power and should be taken out of the Parliament's jurisdiction and from the control of the decisionmakers. That is, it will be in the hands of the new nomenklatura and of its supporters.

[Mihalcea] What do you think the dangers are to the Romanian nation, both in the international and the domestic arena? If there are any dangers at all...

[Coposu] There is no danger from the outside. Our program includes the defense of Romania's sovereignty and its territorial integrity. I do not see any danger in the situation of our current borders. We consider Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina as Romanian territories, and we hope, just like our Moldovan brothers who live beyond the Prut River, that their national ideals will be fulfilled through peaceful means, through understanding. We want to have exclusively friendly relations with all our neighbors, including—and first and foremost—with our great neighbor in the East [the USSR].

However, we believe that in the territorial conflict that exists between us and this neighbor a modern concept will operate based on the principle of the people's self-determination, as it results from the Soviet Union's basic legal institutions. However, on the domestic plane, there is a danger that frightens us (let us hope that it will not materialize), namely that the people's dissatisfaction—which has been brought about by the excessive increase in prices and the low salaries, that is, by the

great gap that exists between the citizens' purchasing power and the rapidly increasing prices under conditions of uncontrollable inflation— will result in violence. We hope that the government will have the wisdom to withdraw on time, before it faces a confrontation with the dissatisfied Romanian public.

[Mihalcea] How can you explain the 20 May votes?

[Coposu] Those votes were terribly falsified and do not represent—as it was published—the decision of the Romanian public. But even if we disregard the falsifications and the vicious manifestations of the electoral campaign through violence, which ensured the legitimacy of the elections from the very beginning, I must admit that a great part of the electorate was misinformed through the methods of the Securitate's "D" directorate and was bombed with malicious assertions of violent propaganda, to which one might add that the method of those in political power was to resort to using a "commando" that was hired on a monthly salary basis to obstruct the opposition's contact with the people. Thus, they achieved the known results, from which a Parliament emerged that is considered by us as illegal and nonrepresentative. There is another explanation: after 45 years of communism, the public was misguided, mainly because in the pre-electoral period, the principles included in the National Salvation Front's declaration were in line with people's expectations. All reasonable Romanians agreed to it, viewing it as a way to get out of the deadlock with a government that had to fill the power vacuum left after the elimination of the Ceausescu dictatorship. The fact that those promises have not been kept is another story... The fact that the "emanates of the revolution" would cheat could not have been foreseen.

[Mihalcea] How do you view the presence of the Association of Former Political Detainees of Romania [AFDPR] within the framework of Romanian society?

[Coposu] I view the AFDPR as a leading factor in the development of political events in Romania. The fact that this association has not turned into a party could contradict my statement. However, it has made itself felt to a great extent. I believe that this association should be the first to have the right to make decisions in Romania and should be a sort of "supra- parliament" because this organization is the guarantee of the anticommunist resistance. One should not forget that in Romania this resistance exceeded the resistance in all the countries that were occupied by the Soviet power. In those countries, the anticommunist resistance stopped in 1948; in Romania, it continued for 10 more years, and the AFDPR embodies the Romanians' hostility toward communism.

[Mihalcea] In spite of the obviously extremist nature that directly endangers the reputation of our people—who might erroneously be considered as suffering from xenophobia—and in spite of calumnies and proven lies that were published in certain publications, the current leadership grants them "encouragement," not only by overlooking them, but also in a direct way. How can you explain this attitude?

[Coposu] It is simple: the current power tolerates, encourages, and maybe even subsidizes them for diversionist reasons. Certainly, we cannot suspect those at the helm of the country as being anti-Semitic, xenophobic, or chauvinistic. However, the fact that the existence of extremist movements (which range from a leftist to a rightist extremism that work together) is permitted and even encouraged gives a respite to the current powers that be, which is probably its goal. We most forcefully reject all xenophobic, irredentist, chauvinistic, anti-Semitic, and anti-Hungarian manifestations. The Romanians are a tolerant nation, and throughout our history one can see that we have lived side by side in good understanding with all ethnic minorities. We cannot reproach for anything those who by birth have a different ethnic origin and a different language. We believe that all Romania's citizens are completely equal and have the same right to cultivate their language, tradition, folklore, and habits.

In our policy toward minorities, we proceed in accordance with the principles established by Iuliu Maniu [Romanian politician in the pre-war period] in December 1918 in Alba Iulia: We do not promote tolerance toward people who have a different ethnic origin but promote perfect equality with the Romanian nation and their right to act in accordance with their own ideas and in their own language, to cultivate their own traditions, and to ensure the continuity of their own culture. We consider as criminal the activity of those who in an artificial way create and support an atmosphere of inter-ethnic confrontation and conflict between different religious denominations and social categories. They spoil Romania's image abroad and maintain conflicts that are alien to the nature of the Romanian people.

[Mihalcea] What is your opinion about the cascade of venom and filth thrown at the name of certain people who went through much concrete moral and physical suffering, many of whom were imprisoned in communist prisons and whose moral state seems to frighten the powers that be?

[Coposu] It is a well-known psychological phenomenon: filthy people cannot stand to be near people who are not burdened with the same sins and are not guilty like they are. It is the tendency of unimportant people to get out of the isolation to which they condemned themselves and to try to pull others into their circle. It has a psychological explanation. There is another pragmatic explanation as well: those in political power are afraid of the people who show a straight attitude and are not capable of compromise. Not being able to convince those people to "cooperate" in a shameful way, it tries to discredit them. We are used to the campaign of calumnies. This is not a discovery of the current political powers that be; it was

practiced for 70 years in the Soviet Union, and it was inherited by the communist structures implanted by the occupying power, and, certainly, taken over by the nomenclatura of our times. It is a diversionist action, and there is a whole army within the former Securitate and the current SRI [Romanian Information Service] that takes care of its implementation, an army that uses this method with great professional skill with a view to discredit certain people who disturb those currently in political power. These people are the victims of calumnies and inventions, one more absurd than the other. However, they do not disturb us anymore, and people have started to understand what their real purpose is. People no longer believe them. The same thing happened to Ceausescu when nobody believed what he was saying in the communiques of his regime. Now we are witnessing another campaign of calumnies, which we accept serenely; we are convinced that it will have a boomerang effect.

[Mihalcea] Has the opposition made mistakes?

[Coposu] Certainly, and those mistakes must be admitted. The first mistake was the trust we had in the current powers that be, the group of those ambitious people who stole the fruit from the young Romanians, from the true revolutionaries who overthrew communism. The second mistake was the lack of solidarity among opposition parties, which stemmed from personal vanity and ambition. Then followed the fact that we ignored neocommunism, which uses all the well-known Stalinist methods. From the very beginning, we should have ensured solidarity among the opposition to avoid Romania's decline toward a new totalitarian regime. This fact was not understood, and this was a major mistake. I personally militated for the unification of the opposition as early as February 1990 and for the opposition's withdrawal from the presidential elections and the parliamentary elections, when unprecedented violence in Romania's electoral history proved that spring that there would not be free elections in our country. Then, we contemplated the parliamentary boycott. Unfortunately, we were not followed by other decisive elements from the opposition. The results prove the rightfulness of my opinions and proposals. Our participation in the parliamentary debates—thus, indirectly granting a certain legitimacy to those debates—is probably also a mistake. The FSN, which ensured itself a comfortable majority in the Parliament, should have been left to operate alone so that it would also feel the consequences of its huge and incomparable mistakes alone, without those mistakes also being reflected on the parliamentary opposition, which is inefficient anyway.

However, it is difficult to say whether the Parliament's mistakes originate from a lack of awareness or they reflect obedience to the leadership that ensures material advantages to the occupants of those seats. In any event, we notice the existence of a voting machine whose button, once pressed, executes the orders that come from above, orders that no doubt come from an ambitious tendency and the wish to display a political power that has no electoral or moral grounds. They brought us the almost general disapproval of the West and pushed us to the very end of the line of former communist countries.

[Mihalcea] How did the party develop after its revival?

[Coposu] Under difficult conditions. Those who revived it lacked material means, because once they were condemned and their entire wealth confiscated. I had only a bad portable typewriter that was working. And I had to suffer the attacks of the neocommunists. Since they viewed us as their major adversaries, they hit us mercilessly. During the electoral campaign we registered two casualties, 167 seriously injured, over 4,000 harrassed, and over 160 headquarters destroyed. Then the abominable aggression of 14-15 June followed, organized by the political powers that be (the destruction of party headquarters, fire set to houses, and complete destruction of the rules of propaganda). We had to start from scratch. But faithful to our mission to contribute to the recovery of the country that we love and to pull it up above the poverty line, we did not allow ourselves to be discouraged.

Currently we have 47 county organizations, over 7,000 urban, and around 1,900 rural organizations. We hope that the force of our party will be proved in the next elections. We already have projects for draft laws, a draft constitution (the one that has been issued), and experts in all areas, who are much more competent than the "unique ones" that make up the government. Likewise, the other serious opposition parties have their own alternative to the current government, which is incapable of overcoming the economic catastrophe that it reached through incompetence. I hope we will overcome the catastrophe because we have better workers than the West and experts in all areas; they only lack technological supplies. If they receive the necessary technological equipment they can equal anyone.

Federal

Assembly Work Blocked by Slovenia, Croatia

LD2008214491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—Top officials of the Yugoslav and Serbian parliaments cautioned today that the blockade of proceedings of the Federal Assembly (parliament) was delaying the enactments otherwise needed for the state's normal functioning in a period until accord was reached on the country's future.

An announcement from the top parliamentary officials' meeting here today said that the Yugoslav parliament's work was blocked when MPs from Slovenia and Croatia walked out. The two Yugoslav republics unilaterally proclaimed independence on June 25.

The emergent situation, as Yugoslav and Serbian officials said, "objectively questions the regular functioning of all the state organs," especially the federal government.

The two parliamentary delegations, headed by presidents of the Yugoslav and Serbian parliaments Slobodan Gligorijevic and Aleksandar Bakocevic, agreed that Yugoslavia's parliament had to resume proceedings at the soonest to be able to carry an urgent program of the state's functioning during a moratorium.

The three-month moratorium on enforcement of independence acts in Slovenia and Croatia was agreed on July 8, but the date as of which it takes effect has not yet been specified.

The meeting underscored an urgent need for early multiparty federal parliamentary elections.

Ministry: $20 Billion Lost in Conflicts

LD2108055791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 19 (TANJUG)—Due to political and armed conflicts Yugoslavia has lost 20 billion dollars, it was announced today by the Yugoslav Ministry for Information, calling on official government assesments.

It is claimed that the assessment is based on the assumption that, under normal circumstances, the country's gross national product (GNP) would stand at about 100 billion dollars per year.

The GNP has dropped by about 20 percent, industrial production is threatening to drop by 50 percent by autumn, and tourism has been devastated, claims the announcement.

Earnings from tourism were expected to reach around three billion dollars, and new investments of about five billion dollars were expected.

If the governments's reform plan had been continued, and not interrupted by conflicts, it could have provided for 300,000 new jobs by autumn, and the rate of growth would have reached two percent, announced the Ministry for Information.

Repaying Foreign Debt 'Big Challenge'

LD2108060591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1742 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government said today that the repayment of 938 million dollars in foreign debt falling due by year-end accounted for "an exceptionally big challenge for the Federal treasury" in a situation of "an exceptionally low influx of foreign currency."

The government estimated it was indispensable to carry on "a constructive dialogue with international financial organizations to find realistic modalities to repay the dues."

The figures presented today showed that Yugoslavia this year owed 413 million dollars to world and regional banks, 245 mln dollars to governments, and 280 mln dollars to commercial banks.

The government said the problem was worst concerning repayments to the World Bank, Yugoslavia's chief creditor, because of its strict sanctions policy. The World Bank recently warned the Yugoslav Government of the "possible legal and economic consequences of further delays" in repaying the debt.

The Federal government said the country's mounted external solvency problems provided "further reasons" for stepping up the negotiations towards reaching accord on the resolution of Yugoslavia's crisis.

Presidency Asserts Cease-Fire Talks Precondition

LD2008201491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1932 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—An expanded session of the SFRY Presidency, which discussed issues regarding the resolution of the political crisis in Yugoslavia, was held today in Belgrade. President Stipe Mesic chaired the session.

Apart from the members of the SFRY Presidency, all republican presidents, the president and the vice-president of the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] president, the president of the the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, the federal secretaries for foreign affairs, internal affairs, for justice and administration, and the deputy federal secretary for national defense, attended the session.

In a constructive atmosphere, concrete issues regarding the resolution of the political crisis in the country were discussed in the light of specific interests and situations in each republic.

All participants in the session agreed that—as stated—a major precondition for talks about Yugoslavia's future are an immediate and unconditional cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia, peace and cessation of hostilities in the entire country and the establishment of an efficient truce supervision.

At the same time the necessary functioning of the vital parts of the political and economic system has to be ensured until the political agreement has been implemented.

Agreement has been reached, says the statement on the session, that the following principles will be complied within the quest for a solution:

1. Respect for the right of every nation to self-determination, including the right to secession and association.

Any change of external and internal borders through unilateral acts and use of force is unacceptable. It can be done exclusively, if that were to happen, on the basis of the right of the peoples to self-determination through a democratic procedure and in a legal manner.

2. Respect for the democratically expressed will of every Yugoslav nation and republic to attain its status, in consonance with its own specific and real interests.

3. The principle of equality which presupposes equality of all options, absence of the imposition of the will of others and use of force.

4. The principle of legality which presupposes that a political agreement is sanctioned legally and a legal procedure of its implementation ensured.

It was concluded that a draft political agreement on the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis is to be prepared on the basis of the cited principles. In drafting the agreement, the starting point will be the expressed will (of nations) and orientations in individual republics, as well as views which will be gauged in forthcoming referenda. On the basis of this agreement, the process of resolving concrete problems, that is, of drafting necessary documents, would start. The draft agreement will be discussed at the next expanded session of the SFRY Presidency.

The SFRY Presidency will set up a working group which will draft necessary documents.

In line with the agreed principle of continuous work, attempts will be made to complete undertaken obligations in the three-month period envisaged by the Brioni Declaration.

The expanded session will resume work tomorrow, when FEC draft measures for the functioning of the system during the three-month moratorium, will be considered, the statement concludes.

Cease-Fire Commission Visits Vinkovci

LD2008210691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Members of the Yugoslav Presidency's cease-fire commission held this morning a meeting with members of the Vinkovci executive council in the municipal assembly. The head of the Vinkovci police administration, Petar Biocic, briefed the members of the state commission and members of the Croatian government, who are accompanying the commission, about the current security situation in the Vinkovci area, especially at the flash-points of crisis, and about this morning attack on Vinkovci. [passage omitted]

Kostic Says USSR Events Warning to Croatia

LD2008215391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1643 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Branko Kostic said on Tuesday that the events in the USSR would "wake up" the Croatian authorities "to eventually realize that patience has its definite limits here too."

Kostic hoped in his interview to Belgrade Radio Politika that the Croatian authorities would "address themselves to a peaceful resolution" of Yugoslavia's crisis through negotiations.

Kostic, head of the ceasefire commission for Croatia, said that "the conduct so far of the Croatian leadership... and of armed formations" had given no hope that a truce, declared two weeks ago, would last.

Kostic argued that "despite observing the ceasefire generally," Croatia carried out "additional mobilization, and concentrations and redeployments of troops" and imported more arms.

Kostic hoped the "Croatian authorities would at last understand that they cannot find an exit from this crisis along a war path," assessing that "this orientation of Croatia has so far been rather pronounced."

The Yugoslav State Presidency's ceasefire commission for northern Dalmatia arrived today in this area where clashes have taken place for the past year's time between the majority Serbian population and the Croatian authorities.

Colonel Mesuh Hasotic from the Knin corps of the Yugoslav Army has told newsmen that the main objective now was the retreating of Croatian police and guards on one hand and the forces of the so- called Serbian autonomous region Krajina on the other to the distances as foreseen in the ceasfire decision.

This was the prerequisite, he said, for the return of the escaped local population to their homes.

Krajina was unilaterally proclaimed by Serbs in the municipalities of Croatia where they make up majority population.

Serbia, Montenegro Reportedly Demand New Borders

AU2008155291 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Bojan Veselinovic report]

[Text] The SFRY Presidency session that started this morning in the Federation Palace in Belgrade continued after a one-hour afternoon break. As it is known, the session is also being attended by presidents of all republics, or the presidents of the republican presidencies. The news is that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman will remain in Belgrade until the end of the session despite the earlier announcement that Tudjman will hold a news conference this afternoon upon his arrival in Zagreb. This is additional proof that the key topic of today's session, which is expected to continue tomorrow, is Croatia and everything connected with it. We have learned that at the beginning of the session, the Croatian president distributed a letter from the Croatian government to all session participants. The letter demands that the SFRY Presidency condemn this mornings' aggression on Osijek. Besides the Croatian President Tudjman, [SFRY Presidency member from Serbia] Borisav Jovic, [Serbian President] Slobodan Milosevic, [President of Bosnia-Hercegovina] Alija Izetbegovic, [SFRY Presidency member for Macedonia] Vasil Tupurkovski, [SFRY Presidency member from Vojvodina] Jugoslav Kostic, [SFRY Presidenty Vice President] Branko Kostic, and [Slovene President] Milan Kucan also took part in the debate. We have learned that the sharpest polemics developed between Tudjman, Jovic, Branko Kostic, and Vasil Tupurkovski. The unofficial information from Croatian sources claims that Serbia and Montenegro persisted in their hard and unyielding stands that the two republics summed up in a demand that the SFRY Assembly holds a meeting and adopt a law on border demarcation [zakon o razmejitvi]. In effect, this is a Serbian-Montenegrin demand for redrawing the Yugoslav internal borders as its representatives expressed a belief that the current borders are administrative and unjustly drawn.

Government Assails Croatian Weapons Seizures

LD2008213791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2011 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 20 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today announced that illegal seizures of weapons and equipment in the jurisdiction of the federal customs administration continue on the territory of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

According to the government statement, the head of the custom-house in the port of Ploce recently turned over weapons to the Ministry of Defence in this Croatian town, without permission of the Federal Customs Administration.

According to the Federal Customs Administration, the weapons included automatic and semi-automatic rifles, pistols and uniforms.

The statement says that weapons are being "carried off" illegally under orders of the Croatian Interior Ministry and territorial defence.

A Czechoslovak arms shipment, intended for "a third country", recently arrived in the port of Ploce and received transit permission from Yugoslav authorities.

However, some Yugoslav papers write that Croatian policemen stole 2,000 pistols and five million bullets from the shipment on July 23. These reports have not been denied.

International

Kostic: Soviets Cannot Stop Democratization

LD2108002591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1758 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 20 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Branko Kostic said today that the new leadership of the Soviet Union cannot stop the process of democratization in the country.

"There is no need to fear that this, or any other leadership will turn back the wheel of history," said Kostic in an interview to Belgrade Radio Politika.

According to Kostic, changes in the Soviet Union have come about because of "pressures resulting from difficult problems and in a situation where the country was threatened by chaos, inter-ethnic fueds and the disintegration of the Soviet Union as a united country."

"Personally, I think that the West is also to blame, because it gave liberal support to the current changes, but, at the same time, did not show readiness to help these changes economically," said Kostic.

Kostic said that the members of the Yugoslav State Presidency were last night informed in detail about the situation in the Soviet Union, and, as he said, they assessed that the changes in the Soviet Union would not be without influence on events in Yugoslavia.

Kostic gave his personal view that yesterday's changes in the Soviet Union had "been decisive for the convening of today's session of the Yugoslav State Presidency with the attendance of all its members."

Negotiations on the future organization of Yugoslavia were renewed in the Yugoslav State Presidency today and will be continued tommorow.

It had been announced that president of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman would not attend

the negotiations if the recognition of the republics' independence and the setting up of a confederation were not included in today's agenda. However, Tudjman did turn up this morning.

Croatia, Slovenia Comment on USSR Events

LD2008042991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0002 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 19 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Croatia voiced its wish this evening to see "in the present processes and developments in the Soviet Union safeguarded undoubtedly great achievements in democratizing life in that country and respecting the Soviet peoples' and republics' will regarding their model and their way of life."

In its announcement, the Croatian government also expressed its belief that the Soviet Union would support the Republic of Croatia's firm orientation to develop democratization in the area of [word indistinct] republic and contribute to a peaceful, democratic settling of the state crisis in Yugoslavia."

On June 25 this year, Croatia unilaterally proclaimed its substantiveness and sovereignty, but the Federal bodies have not granted their recognition.

Slovenia, another republic which did the same on the same day, is going to intensify its diplomatic and other international activites, it was announced after the Ljubljana government's session today.

In the meantime, Slovenia's 2nd largest opposition party, the Liberal Democratic Party, evaluated that "the present situation in the Soviet Union is going to push the burning Yugoslav problem into the background of the world public attention" and voiced its fear lest "the change in the Soviet Union's political orientation could stimulate their followers in Yugoslavia to make like foolish acts and lead to Moscow's immediate support to army-and-party autocrats in Yugoslavia."

Slovenian Reform Party on USSR Events

LD2108043291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1806 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—The public statement by the Slovenian Democratic Reform Party, also addressed to the USSR Consul in Zagreb, stresses in connection with the coup in the Kremlin that "restoration victory in the USSR would have a negative impact on the solution of the Yugoslav crisis. It has been evident that the supporters of dogmatic and centralist forces in the federation, Serbia, and in the Army want a recrudescence of bloc confrontation and that Gorbachev's disarmament and democracy aspirations are not to their liking."

"If the changes in Moscow really were to annul the achievements of the peace process, then Yugoslavia could become a center of military conflicts for which the reactionary forces have been getting ready for some time now," believes SDP Chairman Dr. Ciril Ribicic, who advocates "independence strategy and tactics to be adapted to the newly created situation." He made the assessment that even greater effort must be made to win international recognition for the republic of Slovenia.

Mesic Views Consequences

LD2008210391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] The Yugoslav State Presidium in session today also dealt with the Moscow situation. Our colleague Hajnalka Mate asked [SFRY Presidency] President Mesic about the things voiced at the session.

[Begin recording] [Mate] Mr. President, what are the consequences of the overthrow of Gorbachev for Yugoslavia?

[Mesic, in Serbo-Croatian, with superimposed Hungarian translation] The conservatives' assumption of power will obviously have an influence on Yugoslav events too. In my view two possibilities exist in this regard. In the worse case the conservative, extremist forces could strengthen in Yugoslavia too, and this might perhaps further intensify the crisis. In the better scenario, we may expect that because the EC and the western states in general no longer consider obligatory their promises to support the Soviet Union—as these apply to the reforms that were to have been introduced by Gorbachev—they will pay more attention to Yugoslavia both in the economic and political aspects. [end recording]

National Press Comments

LD2008220291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2219 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 19 (TANJUG)—In their initial reactions, the Yugoslav media assess the resignation [as received] of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev as a "state coup," a "party and military putsch," or an action of the "conservative-dogmatic forces," which could have an effect on world events, developments in Eastern Europe, and even in Yugoslavia.

In a commentary in Tuesday's issue, the close-to-government Belgrade daily BORBA assesses that the on-coming team which replaced Gorbachev was "an attempt to stop time," in which "there would most likely be more repression in the system as a whole, beginning from the work process to administration, followed by centralization in decision-making, strengthening foreign powers, a stronger and more cautious approach in international relations, and greater reliance on the army and police in the internal policy.

The daily DELO OF Ljubljana in its Tuesday issue notes that the generals have again taken the stage in the Kremlin, believing that they would introduce at least some degree of "elementary order" and preserve the

borders of the great Soviet empire. In this way they have again avoided coming to grips with true facts—that socialism cannot be saved, as well as that no one can save the breaking up of the multi-ethnic Soviet state, the paper says.

In this way, according to DELO, "the putsch in the Kremlin was a sobering shock for the West, which thought that it could avoid shake ups in the world if countries in crisis were headed by "eternal reformers."

Another Belgrade daily, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, in its Tuesday's edition set out that those who have criticized Gorbachev will feel the most sorry for him. These are the liberals who [words indistinct] accused him of [words indistinct] demanding that he commit himself to them completely and that they go together much faster [words indistinct] towards realization of the launched reforms. As it turned out, by toppling Gorbachev, the liberals and radicals could soon topple themselves, writes VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

Belgrade's daily POLITIKA writes in its Tuesday issue that it seems that the "West could at least have a guilty conscience... the verbal support to perestroyka had not been followed up by a corresponding economic aid without which the Soviet Union was doomed to economic and social crumbling."

The Novi Sad-based daily DNEVNIK warns that the overthrow of Gorbachev came just at a time when the signing of an agreement which was to be instrumental in turning the Soviet Union into an alliance of sovereign states and which would result in the central authority "significantly losing its powers to the republics."

In an interview for the Croatian radio, Zagreb professor Dr Branko Caratan, assessed that the changes in the Soviet Union "were sure to threaten the process of democratic transformation in Eastern Europe, while the "denouement of the crisis in Croatia and Yugoslavia would begin to pick up dramatically."

Agreements With USSR 'Remain Valid'

LD2008220591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2020 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 20 (TANJUG)—All agreements between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union remain valid and the Soviet Union will consistently observe them, stated Soviet Belgrade Ambassador Vadim Loginov.

He specified to Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic that this pertained also to the agreements recently signed by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and his Soviet counterpart Valentin Pavlov in Belgrade. He added he expected Yugoslavia to behave in the same manner.

Mitrovic on Tuesday also met with Soviet Communications Minister Gennady Kudryavtsev to discuss possibilities for expanding cooperation in the area of communications and tele-communications.

Kudryavtsev also met with the Serbian vice premier and Serbian businessmen for discussions on comperation with the Yugoslav electronics industry and shipments of telecommunications equipment to the Soviet Union.

As announced, other forms of economic cooperation between Serbia and the Soviet Union and the problem of clearing debt paymant were also considered.

De Michelis, Markovic Hold 19 Aug Meeting

AU2008113191 Rome ANSA in English 0841 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 August (ANSA)—Italian Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis and Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic held an unscheduled meeting today in the city of Ohrid, near the Albanian border, for a discussion of "the situation in Yugoslavia and events in the Soviet Union," the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG confirmed this afternoon.

De Michelis also met separately with Kiro Gligorov, the president of Macedonia, TANJUG said.

Earlier, official sources in Belgrade said the encounter was arranged in connection with the Italian Foreign Minister's planned visit to Tirana and after the announcement in Moscow that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had been removed from office. Markovic, these sources recalled, had met Gorbachev only a few days ago.

Sources at the Italian Embassy here reported that ambassador Sergio Vento broke off his vacation and is now in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia.

Slovenia

Army's Failure To Return Equipment Assailed

LD2008175191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1056 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 August (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia today sent a letter to the SFRY Presidency in connection with some outstanding issues referring to the Yugoslav People's Army's withdrawal from Slovenia.

These issues were considered during the Slovene Presidency session yesterday, when presidency members were briefed on the letter which was sent on 12 August to President Milan Kucan by Colonel-General Zivota Avramovic, Commander of the Fifth Army Area. In the letter the general accused Slovene authorities of delaying deliberately and in a planned way, the Army withdrawal, and said that the Army will take measures against such actions.

As reported from the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia " these uncorroborated Yugoslav Army reproaches and threats are resolutely rejected. The presidency is particularly surprised by the tenor of the

aforementioned letter because it is common knowledge that the Republic of Slovenia is vitally interested in the Army's withdrawing from the territory of the Republic of Slovenia as soon as possible and forever, which is consonant with the plebiscite decision on its autonomy and independence".

" The Republic of Slovenia received with pleasure the decision that the Army's withdrawal will be completed even before the previously announced deadline," says the statement. "Consequently, Slovene authorities are trying to insure not only that the Army withdrawal is running according to plan and smoothly, with due regard for the principle of reciprocity regarding the return of weapons and military equipment, but also that the withdrawal is accelerated in keeping with the plans agreed in the joint Republic of Slovenia-Yugoslav army Commission."

The letter goes on to say that "the Republic of Slovenia has begun to return facilities and combat equipment to the Army while the Army, on the other hand, has not returned to the Republic of Slovenia territorial defense, with the exception of new non-combat equipment,even the agreed weapons and military equipment that are the property of the Republic of Slovenia and have been lying in Army storage depots since May last year. Nor does the Army allow the agreed inspection of Army storage depots where territorial defence weapons are kept. The return of Army combat equipment in the future must be conditional on the return of equipment which is the property of the Republic of Slovenia and is kept stored by the Army. Consonant with this, the Slovene side has drafted an additional program for the accelerated return of material and technical resources during this week," says the letter from the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia to the SFRY Presidency.

It goes on to say that "as weapons and other army resources are returned, certain technical difficulties and problems occur that are a consequence of the military activities in June and July, and of the fact that the resources are dispersed throughout the territory of the Republic of Slovenia, and the result of the Army's accelerated withdrawal, although all this does not have any great impact on the withdrawal or the implementation of the commitments agreed on by both sides".

Ljubljana Corps Command Rejects Radio Report

LD2008195791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1852 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—The Command of the Ljubljana Corps stresses in its statement for the public today that "Radio Slovenija news reports that the Slovene TO [Territorial Defense] has handed over to the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] storage facilities in Borovnica and Sentviska Gora are not based on actual facts."

The statement also says that "Radio Slovenija, wishing to reiterate the commitments expressed during the republican presidency session yesterday, when it was said that officials in this republic will do everything to have the withdrawal from its territory completed as soon as possible, transmitted this news report as well."

The information service of the Command of the Ljubljana Corps stresses that "storage facilities in Borovnica has not been received because all the installations which are YPA property, in which weapons and military equipment were stored, had been totally emptied and damaged, while personnel accommodation buildings had been almost totally destroyed". The Army-run farm where, the statement stresses, "150 pigs were bred before it was taken over, is totally empty. For this reason the commander of the unit in Vrhnika refused to accept the premises."

It is suggested, the statement goes on to say, that on 22 August, in the presence of a commission of the YPA units in Vrhnika and of a Slovene TO commission the state of the premises be recorded before the official takeover has taken place. As far as the stores in Sentviska Gora are concerned "they were accepted today, but only 10 percent of the total of mines and explosive devices were handed over", says the statement.

BORBA, DANAS View Problems

LD2008174491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1543 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 20 (TANJUG)—President of Slovenia's ruling coalition Demos Joze Pucnik has announced major cuts in the number of republican government ministers but has said that no replacement of premier is contemplated at present.

The Belgrade daily BORBA on Tuesday quotes Pucnik as having told the Slovenian news agency STA that the Demos leadership - whose meetings are usually closed to the press and public - on Monday decided that a government reconstruction should take place by the end of September.

Whether, and if so, what kind of a reconstruction would it be, depends above all on relations between the parties in the coalition. These relations are the main reason why strong demands for a change of government were made after six months of Demos rule, assesses the paper close to the federal government.

BORBA also quotes Pucnik as saying that 'something is dangerously out of order' in Demos. There are only two solutions - either the present coalition will survive, or the parties will regroup, and, possibly, new ones be created.

The "chief putschist" in the coalition is the conservative Slovene Democratic Alliance headed by Republican Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, says BORBA. It adds that the alliance has also voiced the loudest demands for approaching reprivatization of property - which, together with denationalization, is the main target of a current battle between various lobbies.

The Zagreb news magazine DANAS notes that the six months in which the Slovenian government "could hide its internal differences and external failures behind a facade of patriotic preoccupation with secession (from Yugoslavia), are now at an end."

'Even before the declaration of independence and the outbreak of the armed conflict, the Slovenian government was in an unenviable situation - opposition commentators were already hinting that a count-down of Demos' days would start with the secession,' writes the weekly.

It goes on to say that the government used the six-month intermezzo to create an army and modernize the police, strengthen the budget by new taxes, tighten controls over public institutions and radically change the concept of privatization.

But - points out DANAS - the Demos government "failed to put right the disastrous economic policy, compensate or at least justify its unpopular restrictions in the domain of social security policy, redress the undemocratic moves by which it placed radio and television under its control, at least start a sort of dialogue with the trade unions, define at least a minimum of policy towards Yugoslavia, etc."

"If the war in Yugoslavia does not end and tensions ease soon enough, it is almost certain that the composition of the ruling coalition, at least in Slovenia, will change-...which is exactly where the problem lies," concludes the influential Zagreb weekly.

Croatia

Tudjman: Crisis Solution 'Somewhat Closer'

LD2008215691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2105 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—Today we are probably somewhat closer to a final political solution of the Yugoslav crisis, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said this evening at a news conference immeditely after his return from the expanded session of the SFRY Presidency.

Tudjman commented initially on the statement from the session, assessing that the contentious points of the adopted principles were the issues of effective control of the truce, the problem of internal borders, and the principle of legality, for which compromise solutions were found. In connection with maintaining peace, Tudjman stressed that Serbia and Montenegro have not accepted the demands of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Slovenia that representatives of the EC should be included among the observers. Similarly, according to Tudjman, Serbia and Montenegro did not accept the formalation and declaration of the EC on the inviolability of internal affairs.

The Croatian president indicated that at tomorrow's continuation of the session, there will be discussion of the issues of the functioning of the federation and the Federal Executive Council in the transitional period.

Replying to a question from a journalist about certain assertions "that the existing borders are formal," Tudjman said that no one has called on the Federal Assembly to draw new demarcation lines. "They insisted that changes of borders should be resolved on the basis of the rights of nations to self-determination, implying the right of Serbs, wherever they live, to decide on their Yugoslavia, or Serbia," President Tudjman said.

Tudjman on Separation

LD2008220391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2126 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman assessed this evening, following his return from the expanded session of the SFRY Presidency, that progress has been made in agreement on a political solution of the political crisis in Yugoslavia—"but that there were still different approaches to the same problems." As an example, Tudjman said that at today's session too there were those who wanted, "and not only on one side", to tackle the problem of separation [razdruzivanje] differently. "Thus in the debate it was either sought or permitted that Slovenia could peacefully and more easily resolve its relations with Yugoslavia and the other republics, while this would be different for Croatia," Tudjman said.

"I said that I fully understand our Slovene friends if they want to go as soon as possible, as smoothly and in the most painless manner possible, but acceptance of the view that the Slovenes should be allowed to leave in order then to clamp down on Croatia is certainly not acceptable to Croatia. Croatia has made it known from the outset that it will not allow the problems to be resolved in this way," Franjo Tudjman said.

Roundup of Overnight Attacks in Croatia

LD2108071591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0630 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Grenades were fired in Eastern Slavonija and Baranja last night. The overall number of mortars launched last night on the territory of Baranja is 120. The grenades were fired at (placename indistinct) and Dalj and came from the direction of Beli Manastir and Jagodnjak.

In Osijek area terrorists launched 110 grenades. More than 90 hit Laslovo alone. Two civilians were wounded. Mortar grenades were also fired on the village of Ernestinovo with mixed population. A little after midnight two explosive devices went off in Osijek.

According to a report from the information center in the municipality of Vinkovci, 15 mortars were fired from the

village of Silase toward the village of (Kordiljci). Two persons sustained serious injuries during the attack.

Daruvar was also attacked by mortars last night. Around 0245 nine grenades hit the town. Terrorists were not aiming at anything in particular, and there were no casualties.

In Pakrac at 0130 terrorists opened heavy machine-gun fire and launched three grenades on the town. In Grubisno Polje there was an explosion at approximately midnight.

Cease-Fire Violations Claim 5 Lives

LD2008203191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 20 (TANJUG)—Two Croatian policemen and three civilians were killed in clashes in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia today where a cease-fire officially came into effect two weeks ago.

According to the Croatian Interior Ministry, 16 policemen and four civilians were wounded in today's clashes. The same sources say that two "terrorists" were killed, two were wounded and six were arrested in the past two days.

Croatian authorities describe the rebel Serbian population in Croatia as "terrorists". The most fierce fighting during the night and this morning was in the town of Osijek, eastern Croatia, and three persons were killed and four wounded, according to the Croatian Interior Ministry.

The Croatian government today accused the Army of acting in coordination with the "terrorists" in this clash. The information office of the First Army District announced that army units "returned fire" after being attacked.

There was also shooting in Pakrac today, also in Slavonija, where Croatian Interior Ministry forces clashed with armed civilian Serbs. Four policemen were badly and ten slightly wounded in the fierce fighting in the town yesterday, the Croatian Interior Ministry announced.

There were even more wounded "among the terrorists", Croatian Interior Minister Ivan Vekic said today.

Vekic said that the Croatian Interior Ministry was in control in Pakrac and announced a clean up of some villages from "terrorists".

The number of Serbian refugees from Croatia increased by [word indistinct] today, so that there are now 62,467 refugees in Serbia, as the Red Cross of Serbia announced.

Government Protests YPA Attack on Osijek

LD2008183391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1121 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 20 August (TANJUG)—The government of the Republic of Croatia sent today to the SFRY Presidency a letter calling on it to condemn an attack on Osijek that was carried out during the night between 19 and 20 August. The letter says:

"Following an attack of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and terrorists on Okucani, about which we informed you in our letter dated 16 August 1991, and a demand for an extraordinary session of the Yugoslav Presidency, during the night of 19-20 August, the YPA and Chetnik terrorists carried out a fresh criminal attack on the civilian population and civilian facilities in Osijek.

The course of attack, weapons, and methods used show that the attack was thoroughly planned and coordinated by army commanders and Chetnik terrorists. The target points of the criminal attack on the town of Osijek were housing areas in the center of the town, buildings of the municipal administration, electricity and water supply systems, other infrastructural facilities, and the Saponija factory works. The fire was opened from artillery range C, where a mechanized division armed with 122 mm weapons is positioned, and coordinated with artillery fire from tanks belonging to the Vojvodina Corps from the direction of Bijelo Brdo and with an attack from 122 mm mortars from the Chetnik positions in Tenja. During the attack, searchlights from the barracks in the center of the city were lit for a full 42 minutes during the firing from these positions. This clearly shows that YPA attacks on the civilian population and the town of Osijek were planned and coordinated with Chetnik terrorists.

It is not by accident that the terrorist attack was carried out on the eve of an expanded session of the Yugoslav Presidency in Belgrade, at which a discussion on the settlement of the Yugoslav state and political crisis should be held. We call on the Yugoslav Presidency to condemn the aggressive behaviour of the YPA, call all officers involved to account, and take all measures at its disposal in order to stop the aggression of the YPA on Croatia."

Army Accused of Cooperating With 'Terrorists'

LD2008164291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1524 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia accused on Tuesday the federal army of having cooperated with "Chetnik terrorists" in last night's attack on the east Croatian town of Osijek.

In this attack, three were killed and four people wounded, the Croatian Interior Ministry (MUP) said.

The Croatian government assessed that the "course of the attack, and the means and methods applied" indicated that the attack "had been thoroughly planned out by military commanders and Chetnik terrorists." The term "Chetnik" is used by the Croatian authorities for the rebelled [as received] Serbian population in Croatia.

In its letter to the Federal Presidency, the Croatian government said that the targets of last night's attack were central city residential blocks and "infrastructural power and water supply installations."

The Croatian official sources asserted that Osijek had come under coordinated fire from "Chetnik" positions in Tenja, outside the city, and from the army "C" grounds [as received] and its Vojvodina Corps armoured tanks stationed near-by in Bijelo Brdo.

The Croatian authorities asserted that during the attack, the targets were floodlit for "the full 42 minutes" from a central city barrack.

This morning, however, the command of the First Military District announced that army units at Bijelo Brdo, Borovo Selo, Army "C" grounds near Osijek, and a city garrison hospital came under small arms and mortar fire last night.

The military announcement said the army units fired back.

The Croatian government called the Yugoslav Presidency to "condemn the aggressive behaviour" of the army and investigate the responsibility of military personnel in charge, and then undertake all the means available to put an end to the army's aggression on Croatia.

Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Milan Ramljak at a news conference in Zagreb today accused the army of cooperation with "Chetnik rebels" and of "crimes against civilian population."

Ramljak charged the neighbouring republic of Serbia with "imperialist and conquering policy," warning that Croatia, unless an end were put to it, "will have to resort to every means available to counter this policy."

Ramljak appealed to international public to "bring pressusre to bear upon Serbia to renounce from the aggression of unforeseeable consequences."

Krajina Officials Meet, Babic on Martic Statement

LD2108025191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Knin, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—"The warning by Milan Martic—virtually an ultimatum—that the Croatian police forces should withdraw from Kijevo village was Martic's reply to several provocations on the part of members of the internal affairs ministry." This was how Milan Babic explained this action by Milan Martic, Krajina internal affairs minister, to journalists after the session of the "Krajina government."

Babic added on this incident: "The Kijevo police station lies in the zone of responsibility of units of Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. In this buffer zone, the YPA is responsible for securing order and peace. We will not, for our part, carry out provocations regardless of this ultimatum, because we continue to be in agreement with the cease-fire, and we will not be the first to violate it."

Today's session of the "Krajina government," from which a statement was issued, was entirely devoted to "the system of defense of Krajina, which is part of the system of SFRY Armed Forces." Therefore, it is said, formations, units, and headquarters will be organized according to the regulations of the YPA general staff. "All members of the Krajina territorial defense will wear a badge on their left sleeve in the shape of a shield with two crossed swords, the Serbian tricolor, and the legend "Krajina." At the session, Milan Martic was appointed "deputy commander and member of the staff of the Krajina territorial defense responsible for units of the police."

These and other decisions on the development of the system of defense, command, and formational composition of units and so on, was explained by Babic as "necessary because of the great concentration of forces of the Croatian internal affairs ministry and national guard corps on the southern front toward Krajina."

Staples Withheld From YPA in Osijek

LD2008230691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Summary] We shall start our bulletin with our correspondent's reports. First, Nada Brkacin from Osijek:

Last night and this morning, for the first time, the town faced a terrorist attack by the Yugoslav Army. The targets were civilian and sacred installations, transport facilities, and innocent people. Mortar shells fell on the town center. One hit the Osijek Cathedral. One grenade fell near a streetcar filled with passengers. Two people were killed and eight injured. The fact that these Yugoslav Army terrorists attacks will not go unpunished has been made clear by Vladimir Seks, chairman of the crisis headquarters for Slavonija and Baranja.

[Begin Seks recording] "As chairman of the crisis headquarters for eastern Slavonija and Baranja, I am informing the inhabitants of Osijek of both sexes that because of the criminal Yugoslav Army attack on Osijek town center during which heavy mortar grenades damaged the cathedral and other objects, the crisis headquarters has passed a decision whereby all electricity, water, and food supplies and all other services for the Yugoslav Army Garrison and all its sections in Osijek municipality have been withheld. I am also informing you that the Republic of Croatia armed forces, in the event of another attack on the town of Osijek, will strongly respond to all Yugoslav Army military installations and institutions in the town of Osijek." [end recording]

Aircraft Strafe Village Near Osijek

LD2108092291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] We have just learned from the police administration in Osijek that at 1015 the village of Sarvas near Osijek was bombarded. Three Army aircraft overflew Sarvas and opened fire from machine- guns, and eyewitnesses claim that the aircraft dropped bombs.

At 0830, terrorists opened fire from the direction of Stara Tenja, toward Orlovnjak farm. Eight mortars were launched. At 0840, fire was reopened from the direction of Ada, Markusica, and Palaca toward Laslovo.

Defense Ministry Says Mobilization Not Ordered

LD2008223591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] The Croatian Defense Ministry issued a statement today informing all reservists that the general mobilization of the reserve force of the National Guard has not been proclaimed in the Republic of Croatia. Reservists should only respond to personally delivered call-up papers from their municipal defence secretariat. All phone calls should be regarded as provocations and propaganda activity, the Defense Ministry statement stresses.

In connection with this, Croatian Defense Minister Luka Bebic sent a special letter to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. The letter, among other things, states the following:

In connection with your 13 August letter, in which you informed us that you had set up military bodies on the territory of the Republic of Croatia that would start taking over national service and mobilization tasks as of 25 August [words indistinct], we have the following to say to you:

In line with the constitutinoal law of the Republic of Croatia, the government of the Republic of Croatia decided that the legal regulation on national defense is not to be applied [in Croatia]. The Croatian Assembly endorsed this decision. It follows from this that national service and mobilization tasks are to remain the responsibility of the Republic of Croatia. The government and the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Croatia informed you about this decision on several occasions. On the basis of this, I demand that you recall orders that you made in connection with the taking over of the mentioned tasks.

We have information that your officers are visiting recruits and reservists in person and handing over call-up papers. We warn you that such acts are unlawful. The Defence Ministry of the Republic of Croatia will undertake all measures in line with the existing regulations in order to prevent such unlawful activities.

This is stated in a letter sent to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense by Croatian Defense Minister Luka Bebic.

Fighting Continues in Slavonia, Baranja

AU2008151891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] There was shooting again from all kinds of weapons in Eastern Slavonia last night. Mortar attacks on Vukovar, Osijek, and Beli Manastir are becoming increasingly frequent. Mirko Stankovic reports:

[Stankovic] Three days have already passed since the arrival of an observer team that is studying the situation in the area of the dividing line, and yet Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem are still not quiet. Shooting is going on almost everywhere and is done from all available weapons and increasingly often from high caliber weapons.

So, about 0130 members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the so-called National Guard Corps started exchanging mortar fire with the defense of the villages of Brsadin and Trpinja. It is estimated that about 20 mortar grenades were fired on Borovo Naselje from the direction of Vukovar. A fierce mortar exchange was also held between Osijek and Tenja. Old Tenja was hammered from the Orodnjak Farm, which belongs to the Osijek Agricultural University, and the outskirts of Osijek. Tenja defended itself by returning fierce fire.

Assessing the damage caused by fighting, the citizens of Osijek say that it is considerable, especially in the Jug 2 district, (?Reprala), and the Bosut District. Considerable damage was also inflicted on a transformer station. Several grenades also fell on the city center. St. Peter and Paul's Church was also slightly damaged. Milka Bosnic from Sarvas was killed by an explosion. One child was wounded.

Baranja is also increasingly being shaken by armed fighting. Shooting is happening almost 24 hours a day. A mortar clash took place between Svajcarnica and Darda where the target of attack was a police station, as it was in Beli Manastir. Gabos and Ostrovo exchanged about 30 mortar projectiles with Vinkovci. Sarvas and Bijelo Brdo were involved a similar clash.

Armed provocations against the Yugoslav People's Army continued last night. An Army unit stationed near Bijelo Brdo was shot at from the direction of Sarvas. Another unit stationed in Borovo Selo was attacked from Borovo Naselje. Attacks were also carried on several army positions in Osijek.

Acting in accordance with the orders of the Supreme Command, the Army responded energetically and attacks stopped. There were no casualties among the members of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Serbia

Zelenovic Discusses Aspects of Federal Crisis

LD2008161491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—We would solve problems more easily if we knew whether we are Yugoslavia or just Serbia, because the republic cannot undertake some measures within the competence of the federal bodies. Therefore, the current situation must be resolved as soon as possible. We shall be either the current Yugoslavia or a trimmed-down Yugoslavia or a state comprising Serbia, Montenegro, and Krajina. Whatever happens, opportunities await Serbia, Serbian Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic said when visiting the Beko enterprise in Belgrade. Beko representatives briefed him about the results achieved by and problems facing the company.

Zelenovic stressed that Serbia has a set strategy that is yielding results. By fighting for Yugoslavia, Serbia is securing stability for the republics, therefore, we do not need to seek recognition, because the country is a recognized international entity.

The Serbian government leader then talked about external aspects of the Yugoslav crisis, saying that events are unfolding in line with an international scenario. So, according to Zelenovic, it was known when the formation of a government of national salvation will be demanded—when the pope visits Hungary—and in this context he placed the latest developments in the Soviet Union. We must find ways of surviving under these conditions, Zelenovic said, adding that this is a problem facing both the government and the economy.

Apart from Zelenovic, Government Vice-President Nikola Stanic also visited the Beko enterprise. He talked about the Croatian government and assembly decision to freeze economic, political, and other relations with Serbia and to introduce new taxes and confiscate property belonging to Serbian enterprises. He assessed that these are unconstitutional moves, and went on to say that this is the only way in which the Croatian government could finance the arming of some 100,000 people. At the same time, he added the Serbian government has not confiscated a single dinar from Slovene and Croatian enterprises.

Macedonia

Assembly Commission Adopts Draft Constitution

AU2108095291 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] The Constitutional Commission of the Macedonian Assembly today adopted the draft text of the Constitution of Macedonia. The text will be endorsed at a session of the assembly the day after tomorrow. This will be followed by a public debate on the adoption of the draft constitution that will last until September.

Tomorrow [21 August], the republican deputies [words indistinct] and discuss some legal bills. If the session of the state presidency ends before the assembly session scheduled for the day after tomorrow, it is expected that the Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov will address the deputies.

Macedonian, Croatian Groups Discuss Future

AU2008135591 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Delegations of the assemblies of the Republic of Macedonia and of the Republic of Croatia, headed by presidents Stojan Andov and Zarko Domljan, met in Ohrid today. It was stated in the talks that faits accomplis, ultimatums, pressure, and the use of military force are unacceptable as methods and approaches in solving the Yugoslav crisis. The basic prerequisite (?to solve it) is to respect the sovereignty of the republics, their territorial integrity, and the unchangeability of republican borders, as well as to halt all military activities on the territory of Croatia and Yugoslavia. It was stated that the Army must withdraw into the barracks and that it cannot be a political arbiter in agreements between republics.

During the talks between the two legislative delegations, both sides expressed pleasure with the fact that such meetings are being held because this is one of the ways to solve the overall crisis in Yugoslavia in a peaceful and democratic way.

The two delegation have also expressed a joint stand on the need to internationalize the crisis in the country through the institutions of the EC and the CSCE.

The two sides also touched upon the possibilities for forming a union of sovereign states on the territory of the present Yugoslavia. It was pointed out that these negotiations should proceed from well-argued concepts by all (?future) members of the union (?of states).

Defense Minister Comments on Conscripts Issue

AU2008194591 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Interview with Macedonian Defense Minister Risto Damjanovski by Radisav Ristic in Skopje; date not given—recorded; all questions are in Serbo-Croatian and answers in Macedonian]

[Text] [Ristic] Here in the Ministry for National Defense of the Republic of Macedonia we are talking to [Defense] Minister Risto Damjanovski about some current issues.

Comrade Damjanovski, could you please answer some questions that are topical today? First, what is you

comment on the decision to extend the military service of the September generation of soldiers?

[Damjanovski] Allow me first to greet you on behalf of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia and wish you a successful visit, and that you return with good impressions from this ministry.

Regarding your question, this is nothing new for me. Following the general situation in the country and the needs imposed by the situation, I find the extension of the military service quite understandable. This is in the interest of maintaining a high combat readiness of the units of the Yugoslav People's Army. I think that this is normal.

There will naturally be a reaction to this. There is widespread euphoria that is stirred up by numerous parties and all this is used in some way to devalue all the decisions that are made by the Yugoslav People's Army.

I think that the parents were given proper explanations. This situation will be understood, and this problem in the Republic of Macedonia will be resolved.

[Ristic] What is your view about the efforts made for Macedonian soldiers to do their military service in Macedonia?

[Damjanovski] In principle I do not agree with this view, nor with some parties and politicians. I view the defense of Yugoslavia in an integral sense. Therefore, the soldiers should be sent to all parts of Yugoslavia, as it has been the case so far, if we want to preserve the integrity and sovereignty of our Yugoslavia.

[Ristic] The Federal Secretariat for National Defense has announced that by the end of this month it will take over matters concerning military service. What is your comment on this, and do you think that this could be carried out in practice here in the Republic of Macedonia?

[Damjanovski] We are continuously following changes in both the Law on National Defense and the Law on Military Service. We have completed all the necessary preparations for handing over military records to the military territorial units. However, the situation in the republic is so complex that we will most certainly encounter some problems. In June, the government adopted a conclusion demanding that the military records remain in sociopolitical communities. We will make great efforts so the task of the Yugoslav People's Army is successfully carried out in the Republic of Macedonia.

[Ristic] Thank you very much, Comrade Damjanovski.

[Damjanovski] Welcome.